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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1900.

The Week.

The Republican newspapers and speakers that are so certain that Mr. McKinley's reëlection will result in the immediate ending of the war in the Philippines, would do well to consider Mr. Sixto Lopez's views on the matter, since he unquestionably represents the educated Filipinos. Mr. Lopez, while free from any desire to influence the approaching election either one way or the other, states that the reëlection of McKinley will make no difference whatever in the resistance of the Filipinos to those who are laying waste their country by fire and sword, any more than would the election of Mr. Bryan, should the latter also pursue the course of requiring abject subjection to his will. In this, Mr. Lopez simply confirms the statement to this effect of the *Evening Post's* Philippine correspondent, which was published the other day. The attitude of Señor Mabini, a member of Aguinaldo's Cabinet, of which he is said to have been the intellectual leader, throws still more light on this point. According to Manila dispatches, this wretched and ungrateful man has been released from prison after long confinement, because he is dying of paralysis, and despite the fact that he "has persistently refused to take the oath of allegiance." We are certain that the Administration will call Gen. MacArthur to account for his reprehensible kindness in permitting so obstinate a criminal to die in his own bed. Certainly no sympathy should be wasted on this dark-skinned "patriot," who foolishly cherishes hopes of freedom for his people, and who impertinently declines to take off his hat to Mr. McKinley. The uncomfortable thing about it is that, living or dead, Señor Mabini's example has a great influence upon his countrymen.

After election will come what may easily be far more important than the election in settling the question of American Imperialism—namely, the arguments before the Supreme Court on the Constitutional rights of Porto Ricans and Filipinos. The cases have been advanced on the calendar and are set down for November 12. One thing is clear. If the Court holds that the Philippines are entitled to all the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution, the Republican leaders will instantly adopt the policy of scuttle. All their brave words about duty and responsibility they would bolt whole, if they found that trade with the Philippines must be free. They might have an overwhelming victory at the polls, backing up their announced purpose to stay in the islands for ever, but the knocking flat of their tariff walls by a judicial decision would set them all scuttling. In other words, they are for holding the Philippines if they can exploit them, but for dropping them like live coals if they must rule them under the Constitution. Burke showed how the English colonial policy of the last century fatally erred in withholding from the colonies the very parts of the British Constitution which made British citizenship a precious possession. The Republicans are doing the same thing with their colonies, and, if the Supreme Court declares it an illegal thing to do, they will immediately become the fiercest Anti-Imperialists going.

Mr. Bryan took the opportunity on Monday week of commenting on the newer problems of American finance. His attention seems to have been called to the fact that the surplus wealth of the United States is at present so great that some of it is overflowing into European securities. His comment, in his speech at Quincy, Ill., is characteristic. Why do not these capitalists buy land in America, instead of buying German and English Government bonds? Why, indeed? The answer that capitalists, large or small, usually invest their money where they choose, would be too commonplace for an economist of Mr. Bryan's grasp. The capitalist, we fancy, might retort that if the surplus funds of Chicago and the East were actually invested in Illinois lands, Mr. Bryan might start the hue and cry against the plutocrats who were forming a "land Trust" and reducing the farmer to servitude. As a matter of fact, this last deliverance is only another stroke of the demagogue's art in which Mr. Bryan is proving himself so proficient. When European capital was flowing to America, the favorite argument of such politicians was that the foreigners were snatching away the American's birthright. Now that the movement is reversed, the needy American is invited to watch the diversion of money which ought to have come into his own possession. This is a sufficiently direct appeal to every borrower whose poor credit and bad collateral are rejected at the bank, every speculator entangled in an unlucky venture, and every landholder who has bought unwisely and cannot sell at a profit. The motive of the last investments in German Treasury bonds is clear to Mr. Bryan. The capitalists indulging in such a practice, he explained, are deliberately carrying out their party's policy of reducing values. Exigencies of stump politics account for a good deal. Mr. McKinley himself, eight years ago, was not above indulging in political claptrap about the "British gold" that was coming by ship-loads to America to elect Mr. Cleveland. But this was 'prentice work compared with Mr. Bryan's present appeal to class prejudice, ignorance, and jealousy.

The Bryan managers in Massachusetts illustrated again last week what has become the salient feature of the campaign—that the financial question is the immediate issue, to which the so-called "paramount" one must give way in case of a conflict. Moorfield Storey had agreed to accept a nomination for Congress from the Anti-Imperialists of the Eleventh District. The obvious thing for the Democrats to do was to make him their candidate also. But Mr. Storey is notoriously not "sound," from the Bryan standpoint, on the silver question, or, indeed, on any phase of the financial follies to which the party is committed. So their convention insisted upon nominating a candidate who accepts the whole Kansas City platform, and who could be depended upon, in case of his election, to vote for a free-coinage candidate for Speaker. It is of little use for the Bryanites to talk about Imperialism being the paramount issue so long as their actions push the financial question to the front whenever there is a conflict between them.

Under the caption, "The Cost of Tammany Hall in Flesh and Blood," Mr. Franklin Matthews has contributed to the current *Harper's Weekly* the most terrible story that has thus far appeared of the way in which Mr. Croker's institution is corrupting and brutalizing the city of New York. Mr. Matthews brings out the fact that in 1899 the excise arrests were smaller than in any year since 1884, although every citizen is aware of the flagrant violations of the liquor law. Arrests for murders have increased from 99 to 277 in ten years, while the number of unpunished murders steadily increases as the police wax more and more incompetent. In 1899 there were 1,244 more felonies reported in the police courts and 610 more grand larceny cases than in 1898. But these are only side issues compared with the statements about the depravity and corruption of the children of the slums, and the wholesale importation of white and colored women to this city for immoral purposes, and in order that the Tammany campaign chest may profit by the blackmail levied upon all sorts of vice. These are hard things to read and still harder to write about, but any one who cares at all for the redemption of the city should inform himself as to the facts, and should insist upon his neighbor's knowing under what conditions his

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children must grow up to womanhood and manhood. If matters are to improve after getting worse, surely the time for the turn of the tide is at hand. In the light of Mr. Matthews's statistics, our "colonists" may well fear for their future, and dread the character of the civilization which is to be forced down their throats. The Administration should see to it that *Harper's Weekly* has no circulation in Manila.

No further explanation is needed of the fall in foreign exchange, and the reluctant surrender of European bank gold for America, than Monday's statement of September's foreign trade. Briefly summed up, it shows that total merchandise exports from the United States last month were by far larger than in any corresponding month in our history, and that the month's excess of exports over imports was $56,000,000, against an export excess of only $39,000,000 in September, 1899, and an actual excess of imports as lately as 1895. In the nine completed months of the current year, not only have exports increased by the enormous sum of $129,000,000, but the surplus of exports over imports has run $90,000,000 beyond last year. These are large figures; it is doubtful if any such sudden expansion has ever been witnessed in the history of trade.

What makes the comparison with last year still more striking is the fact that while imports show signs of steady decrease (they were $11,000,000 less last month than in 1899), exports are mounting up now with greater rapidity than ever. Our September shipments of other than agricultural products rose $4,300,000 above a year ago. The value of cotton exports increased $3,100,000 in September, and trade estimates indicate that in the two completed weeks of the current month the value of cotton actually shipped from this country to Europe is $12,000,000 greater than that exported in the same fortnight of 1899. These astonishing figures force again into consideration the question, how and when this unprecedented balance is to be liquidated. European holdings of our stocks and bonds have already been practically sold back to us, excepting such as are held for permanent investment. The investment of our own capitalists in European securities is as a drop in the bucket compared with our total apparent credit. The situation, prolonged as it has been, is so new to commercial history that the shrewdest expert on international finance finds it difficult to forecast the future.

What wages the anthracite miners have been earning is a question which cannot be answered in a word. Individual pay-checks are not significant, because the miners' wage is a piece wage, and so allowance has to be made for the personal equation; an inefficient or shiftless man earning less in proportion as he is so. This is well illustrated by three pay-checks given in last week's *Outlook*. The amounts earned in a month range from minus $11.81 after all deductions in one case, to a cash balance in favor of the miner in another case of $63.76. A staff correspondent of the *Outlook*, after careful investigation, estimated average net earnings of skilled men classed as miners at about $37.50 per month. The miners during the past decade have averaged about three weeks' work per month. Average earnings of all employees are estimated at slightly over $300, or $25 per month. According to official Federal reports, there has been a decline in average wages from $382 in 1870 to $321 in 1880, and to $316 in 1890. It is recognized by the operators that the question is not one of daily wages. The crying evil in the situation is the few days worked in the course of a year. In a word, there are more miners than are required to produce the amount of coal annually consumed in the community. This condition has resulted largely from the disposition of the miner to cling to his own trade, however ill he may fare at it.

The miners are in a fair way to suffer immediately some of the consequences of their action during the strike in forcing men to quit work who were under an agreement to submit all questions to arbitration. This they ought to have foreseen. The operators now say they will not agree to arbitration. Why should they? they ask; it would be a one-sided agreement, and only the operators would be bound by it. John Markle had a written agreement with each of his men to arbitrate all grievances. The men were perfectly satisfied with the provisions, and had all signed the agreement, which they all broke at the bidding of their leader, John Mitchell. The operators say that they have made their proposition, and that it is left to the men to accept or reject. Since the men have manifested their readiness to quit work whenever they like, and to disregard agreements as the fancy pleases them, and since they can give no guarantee for good faith in the future which they have not violated in the past, the operators assert that they have no choice. If they should agree to arbitrate, it would be a mere formality of no significance, and they could not be expected themselves in the future to abide by the terms of any agreement they might make with their men. To enter into agreements with men who do not understand the obligation of an agreement, is putting one's faith in a rope of sand.

American missionaries and missionary boards have resented with just indignation the ignorant flings at missionary life and labor in China, as being really responsible for the Chinese hatred of foreigners. One of the speakers at the American Board meeting in St. Louis declared with some heat, but with much truth, that foreign aggressions upon China, and especially the "stealing of land" in China, were a much more likely root of bitterness. Much more likely, say we, too; and yet it is a curious fact that missionaries are to-day among the most ardent in urging the United States to lose no time in "stealing" some land away from the Chinese. Thus, even the venerable Dr. Martin of Pekin thinks that "we ought to take [convey the wise it call] the fine island of Hainan." He apparently wants this country to surrender its advantage of so much as appearing to the Chinese to be disinterested. But taking a fine island is moderation itself compared with the grandiose schemes for doing people good by robbing them of their property which are entertained and expounded by Bishop Thoburn of the Methodist Church. He has discovered that it is "God's manifest plan" to "do away with small nations," and to leave in the world "only six or seven great empires." What particular sauce the small nations may prefer to be eaten with, the good Bishop did not specify. His idea seems to be that his six or seven great empires will live in a kind of Mohammedan Paradise of peace, if for no other reason, because gluttony will have made them torpid.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the greatest single obstacle to peace in China is, at present, the *intransigeant* attitude of Germany. The United States is withdrawing military pressure, and is saying on every occasion, as again in answer to the French note, "Yes, yes, that is all very well, but when are we going to begin negotiating?" Russia is studiously playing the rôle of China's best friend. Grant that her professions are insincere, and that she wishes simply to nurse the sick man along until he gets ready to make a will declaring Russia residuary legatee; it is none the less true that Russia's Chinese policy is distinctly peaceful. So is Japan's. Italy limps after the Dreibund in China as in Europe. France is not willing to let Germany have all the *gloire*, so she joins the German-led "punitive expedition." The English troops go along as being old hands at the punitive business, and able to show the greenhorns how to do it. But it is to Germany that the primacy belongs in aggression and mischief-making. For what purpose did the expeditionary force set out for Pao-Ting-Fu on Thursday? For vengeance. There had taken place in that city a bloody massacre of innocent foreigners. Therefore, there must now take place there a still bloodier massa-

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cre of a still greater number of innocent Chinese. It is a horrid and sickening spectacle which these emissaries of civilization are preparing for Christendom. There is no question here of rescuing beleaguered Europeans; it is just a vengeful slaughter that is contemplated, the city to be made an heap, men and women killed indiscriminately, and little ones dashed against a stone. It is a fine way of placating the Chinese, and making them more ready to be hospitable to Western learning and religion! A noble *Præparatio Evangelica* these Christian nations are planning! Thank Heaven, this new blood-guiltiness does not stain America's skirts.

There is a great deal that is encouraging in the recent decision of the Court of Appeals in the case of State Senator Coffey of Brooklyn against the Kings County Democratic Committee. It indicates that the courts will protect the will of the voters, not only when expressed at a general election, but also when expressed in the manner provided by law in regard to the control and management of parties. It points out the way in which the voters of a party who are opposed to boss rule may weaken, if they cannot overthrow, the power of the ring. It is the most liberal interpretation of the primary law which could have been hoped for, and it ought to result in a more general and more intelligent participation, by persons who have heretofore held aloof, in the primary contests. The facts of the case were these: Senator Coffey, who had been regularly elected, under the new primary law, to membership in the Kings County Democratic Committee, about a year ago bolted a Democratic nominee for a county office. For this action he was expelled from the Committee by the vote of a majority of its members. He applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus compelling the Committee to restore him to membership. The decision of the Supreme Court was in his favor, but it was reversed by the Appellate Division. The case was carried to the Court of Appeals, with the result that the decision of the lower court was affirmed, reversing the decision of the Appellate Division.

In the prevailing opinion of the Court of Appeals, prepared by Chief Judge Parker, two points of general interest and importance are made: first, that a member of a general political County Committee cannot be removed from office by the votes of a majority of the Committee; and, second, that the will of a majority of the persons voting at a primary election for members of a Committee may not be overridden by the Committee itself. In other words, the absolute control of the party machinery can no longer be held by the boss and his gang, provided enough voters who are opposed to methods of political tyranny and dictation will attend the primaries and elect their representatives in the manner prescribed by law. In an interesting review of legislation in favor of the purity of the ballot which the Chief Judge incorporates in his opinion, he points out that the mere prevention of frauds in general elections is not enough to insure an expression of their independent will on the part of the voters. He rightly asserts that the voter, in order to have any real voice in the selection of public officers, must also have his say in the matter of party policy and management and nomination. For this purpose the Primary Law has been evolved, through a long line of more or less beneficial legislation. But the right to express their will would be of little value to the party voters if a machine majority on a committee might overthrow it. The decision seems at least to place in the hands of men who are disposed to be independent in their action within their party, a weapon with which they may harass, if they may not overthrow, the tyrants of the machine.

A decision bearing upon the question of Federal interference in a State in case of such disorder as prevailed in Chicago during the railway strike of 1894, and in the Cœur d'Alêne mining district of Idaho last year, was made a few days ago by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. Ten of the Idaho strikers had been arrested and indicted for conspiracy in seizing and interrupting a train bearing United States mails, and upon conviction were sentenced to imprisonment for nearly two years apiece and $1,000 fines. They have now been released on the ground that the indictment was faulty in failing to allege that they knew that the train which they seized was carrying United States mails. They were charged with an offence against the United States in their action, but the Court held that it is not in itself such an offence to hinder and delay the passage of a train over a railway which carries United States mails. It only becomes such when the train in question carries a mail and the conspirators know that it does. In this case the Court admitted that it might be that all the conspirators had such knowledge, or that the facts and circumstances shown in the evidence were sufficient to charge them with such knowledge, but that this did not dispense with the necessity of setting forth in the indictment all the elements of the wrongful act which they conspired to commit. It will be seen that the right of Federal interference is maintained, but that it must be exercised with the greatest care.

The French Socialist Congress wrestled manfully with one knotty question: May a Socialist take office? It was really a personal question, centring about the action of M. Millerand, a leader among French Socialists, in accepting a portfolio in the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry. How is this to be reconciled with the fundamental Socialist doctrine that all existing governments are rotten, deserving only to be spit upon and crushed? Yet there was the ugly fact of a Socialist in a bourgeois Cabinet; and the Congress was driven to subtleties. Instead of answering yes or no, it answered yes and no. It passed a resolution declaring that "a Socialist should never accept office [that begins well], except in very urgent cases, and with the assent of his party." The eloquent M. Jaurès came forward in the rôle of Monsieur Distinguo, and carried the Congress with him. "Is it not," he demanded, "the principle of the struggle of class against class which is the essence of Socialism, and does not this principle forbid a Socialist to take any share in a bourgeois government?" "Undoubtedly," said the Congress. "But can you not conceive a case in which such participation may be necessary?" "Certainly," replied the Congress. So Millerand, being the "case," keeps his seat in the Cabinet without losing his standing as a good Socialist. Perhaps he is also able to keep a straight face, though outsiders find it difficult.

The Agrarians in Germany have had their fling at the speculators, and are now finding their Anti-Option Law something of a boomerang. Suppression of sales by commission for future delivery has not had the effect of steadying the market, which, during the entire period that the law has been operative, has been characterized by rigidity and maladjustment of supply to demand. This maladjustment is well shown by the action of the German farmers in 1897-98, when, "being all at sea as to the harvests of other countries," they sold a large part of their crop for exportation, thereby creating a deficit which had to be filled later by importation from the United States and Russia. It is estimated that prohibition of legitimate speculation in this instance kept the price of grain from $6 to $10 per metric ton below where it would otherwise have been. Since the law was passed, the price of wheat has ranged from 180 marks ($42.84) to 270 marks ($64.26) per metric ton, and the law has been absolutely inoperative to check these fluctuations, which naturally react upon actual supplies in hand or in sight. German Agrarians have yet to learn that not all speculation in futures is wicked gambling; that speculation in futures as often helps the farmer as it does the community at large; and that such speculation is a legitimate assumption of risks. "Manipulating" and "cornering" the market are very different matters. They are not, properly speaking, speculation at all.

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"SUPPORTING" M'KINLEY.

Everybody must have noticed how the men who come forward to announce their determination to vote for McKinley, do so with an apologetic air. They usually begin by saying that they hope no one will suppose that he is their "first choice," or that they think him, *per se*, fit for the Presidency. This is especially the case with those who speak as representatives of the intelligent classes. To save their own reputation for intelligence, they have to include in their "support" of McKinley an amount of personal and political condemnation of their candidate which would seem positively insulting to a less meek man than he. "Understand," they say, "we know as well as you do that his convictions are made up for him as regularly as his bed is; that he can turn himself inside out or upside down at the word of command; that his Administration has been marred by frightful mistakes—and still, on the whole, we mean to vote for him. He is the lesser evil."

Yet so low is the Republican estate that the party managers hail such accessions with rapture. These left-handed compliments they seize upon delightedly as proof that the party has not, after all, driven away all intelligence or affronted every conscience. "See," they gleefully exclaim, "Mr. Ottendorfer is with us. To be sure, he says McKinley is a vermicular man, who ought never to have been thought of for the Presidency, and whose Administration has been a wretched failure. Mr. Ottendorfer may not vote for him, but, anyhow, he is against Bryan. What a triumph that is for our candidate!" They even pounce with joy upon the pronouncement of the Rev. Dr. Bacon against Bryan, although in the very same letter he said of McKinley: "We cannot tell where to find him in any future emergency, but may calculate, with much probability, on finding him in contradiction to his avowed principles." And this is called "supporting" a man for the Presidency!

The truth is, there has seldom been a candidate for President whose personality was such a drag upon his canvass. The veriest idolaters and myth-makers cannot picture McKinley as a hero or a leader. He is running for office purely on the badness of his opponent. Ask frank Republicans their opinion of the outcome if it were Cleveland against McKinley. They will admit that their man would be nowhere. Far from kindling enthusiasm and carrying a cause with him in inspiring leadership, he calls for apologies instead of for cheers, and is a dead weight upon the cause—the gold standard—which has to carry *him*. This is an awful break with our Presidential traditions. Personality has notoriously always counted for much with Americans. They like to swear by names rather than measures. They often make a popular hero out of the most refractory material. Four years ago many of them persuaded themselves that they could see an heroic feature or two in McKinley. But they have given it up now. They will take him, if they do at all, shudderingly, and as a forced but dreaded alternative.

Gov. Roosevelt, on his return to this State, will be expected to "bring words of cheer from the great West," where he has been campaigning. If he were to give a truthful impression of the figure which McKinley is actually cutting in the canvass, his report would be something like this:

> "I am glad to be able to assure you, Republicans of New York, that the Lesser Evil is running like wild-fire over the prairies. In the most intelligent circles, I found an earnest conviction that McKinley is not quite so bad as Bryan. And the plain people are equally enthusiastic about our peerless leader. One monster parade, which I reviewed, bore a McKinley banner on which was inscribed the inspiring words, 'Our Medicine. We hate it, but we are going to take it.' In Chicago the vast audience which packed the Auditorium was thrilled when a picture of McKinley was unveiled, underneath which was written, 'The Nation's Choice—of Evils.' And I assure you, fellow-Republicans, that even I have seldom roused such frantic applause as I did in St. Louis when I called for three cheers for McKinley, and added the sentiment, 'We love him for the blunders he has made!' "

We would not be thought to jest about what is really a very serious matter. Inability to respect a candidate for its highest office is little short of a disaster for a democracy. It often suffers strange delusions about public men, falls down before images with feet of clay, and all that; but that is better than the political dejection which comes from the general conviction that voting is reduced to a balancing of dangers, and a choice between two unworthy personalities. "Vote as you shot," used to be the shibboleth. "Vote as you pray," was another. This year the watchword is, "Vote as you take medicine." That is not a healthful or hopeful state of a democratic body politic. Casting a ballot in the spirit in which you would get a prescription filled, is a poor substitute for the old proud way of "executing a freeman's will." It will not be an inspiring sight on election day—the number of good citizens who will be seen coming from the polls with pain and illness written on their faces, and who will explain their melancholy and distress by saying that they had been voting for McKinley.

One compensating feature of this campaign of the lesser evil is that even McKinley himself, on reading the terrible things said of him by his supporters, must begin to be aware that something is wrong. People have talked a good deal about "punishing" McKinley. Some have said that they mean to vote solely to punish him. But his punishment has already begun. To a man as vain as he is, it must sometimes seem a punishment greater than he can bear. His own idea of the campaign was that it was to be one long laudation of his person. He sent on from Washington to Philadelphia a platform pitched in a key of the grossest adulation of his noble self. First he had the mortification of seeing his own party's stomach unable to stand that dose. His self-praise was ruthlessly cut out of the platform. Then he has seen his personality steadily retire into the background, until his name has come to be mentioned with apologies which are themselves cutting indictments, and the Rupert he thought himself has been reduced to the humiliating rôle of the Lesser Evil. His only hope of election lies in the fact that people, echoing Candide's famous cry about the best of worlds, will exclaim in horror, "If McKinley is the Lesser Evil, what must Bryan be!"

EX-PRESIDENT HARRISON ON PORTO RICO.

Ex-President Harrison rendered an important public service, and expressed a large share of public opinion, in the few words which he said last week on the present political campaign. He announced his support of the Republican nominees for the same reasons that he gave when McKinley and Bryan were candidates four years ago. But he added that he did not approve of the bill for the government of Porto Rico. He regarded it at the time of its passage as "a grave departure from right principles." He went on to say:

> "I still think so: I do not believe that the legislative power of Congress in the Territories is absolute, and I do believe that the revenue clause, relating to duties and imports, applies to Porto Rico. These views, I know, are not held by many able lawyers. It is a legal question—one that the political departments of the Government cannot finally adjudge. The final and controlling word upon this question is with the Supreme Court of the United States. Cases involving the question are, I understand, pending, and a decision, in which we must all acquiesce, cannot be much deferred. I think, therefore, that voters ought to vote with a view to the right decision of those questions that are directly and finally in control of the President and Congress."

These words put Mr. Harrison in the ranks of the Anti-Imperialists, of the class to which Senators Hoar and Hale and Representatives McCall and Littlefield belong, for, although he says nothing about the Philippines, the same principles which he applies to Porto Rico apply to all of our colonial possessions. Moreover, if the Constitution requires uniformity of taxes, duties, and trade regulations in and among all the States, Territories, and places belonging to us, it is difficult to see why it does not carry to the newly acquired countries all the rights of citizenship which are common to the inhabitants of the United States.

Mr. Harrison does not say what course of political action he should follow if the Supreme Court should decide as a matter of law that the Constitution does not require uniform taxes, duties, and

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trade regulations in all territory covered by our flag. Such a decision would still leave it open to all citizens to advocate the passage of laws to cover that defect and to fill that vacuum. It would not be necessary to amend the Constitution in that particular, but merely to apply by Congressional enactment the principle of equality of rights which forms the groundwork of our system of government. In such an endeavor we should count as confidently on the moral support and active coöperation of ex-President Harrison as on that of Senator Hoar, or of Carl Schurz, or ex-Gov. Boutwell. The real significance of Mr. Harrison's interview lies in the fact that he speaks for a host of people who, although they cannot see their way clear to support Mr. Bryan in this campaign, intend to fight against Imperialism to the end of their lives if need be, because they believe it to be a virus in a republican system of government.

We are told that Imperialism is a bugbear and a myth, that there is no such thing, that it exists only in the imagination. Evidently this is not Mr. Harrison's view. He considers the Porto Rican bill not a mere misinterpretation of a fiscal clause in the Constitution, but "a grave departure from right principles." What can this be but an attempt to govern people without giving them a share in the government, to impose taxation on them without representation? What else has Imperialism consisted of, from the dawn of history till now? Athens was a republic that adopted Imperialism. She attempted to rule other peoples without giving them any voice in public affairs, but only a municipal control, subject to her own whims. She imposed taxation without representation. She became greedy, she raised up enemies to herself, and she fell into ruin. It is needless to recall Imperialism and the hideous course it ran in the Roman republic, except to say that those who call it a bugbear and a myth are unfamiliar with the world's history.

It is safe to promise Mr. McKinley and his party as vigorous a fight after the election as they have had at any time since the treaty of peace with Spain was ratified. It is fair to expect, also, that some mouths which have been closed by party exigency heretofore will be opened as soon as the smoke of battle rolls away. It is well known that Senator Spooner and Congressman Cannon have never approved the policy of the Administration in the Philippines. They are representative men, and it is believed that they have a following, both in and out of Congress, that will make its influence felt as soon as the discipline which the present campaign imposes is relaxed. Perhaps ex-President Harrison will then feel at liberty to go a little deeper into this subject than he did last week, and tell us what he thinks of Imperialism in general. Having already reached the highest honors his country can give, he is now above the suspicion of unworthy motives and beyond the reach of calumny. His influence among Republicans is probably greater to-day than that of any other man in private life. The country would listen to him with rapt attention. Surely he could have no fairer opportunity to be of service to the present and to coming generations of his countrymen.

CONQUERORS AND CONQUERED.

The verdict of science on Imperialism is only beginning to be pronounced. The question has, so far, been passed upon mainly by national pride and by greed, flaunting in the thin disguise of philanthropy and the "mission of the higher races." What science has yet more clearly to tell the world is, what is to become of the higher races in contact with the lower; what the effect of conquest is upon conqueror and conquered; what racial gains and losses are involved in the forcing of foreign rule and foreign civilization upon Malay and Arab, Chinaman and Kaffir. It is a matter clearly falling within the purview of ethnography; and accordingly we find the Congress of Ethnographical Sciences at the Paris Exposition giving attention to this important subject. One of the papers read before it was a calm discussion by M. Leclère of the reciprocal moral effects upon each other of a conquering in touch with a conquered race.

In a word, M. Leclère's conclusion is that conquest is bad for both races. Remember, he is speaking purely as a scientist. About trade he says nothing; all the windy talk about being a "world-power" he passes by in silence; the hypocrisies and excuses of conquerors are not for him. Fixing his eye solely upon the one question of the race-effects of conquest, he pronounces them an almost unrelieved evil. You may have to invade Asia or Africa by force of arms in order to get trade; only, do not forget, says M. Leclère, that in the process you impair the fibre of your race. It may be necessary for a *Weltmacht* to send its armies and its administrators into deserts and swamps over-sea; be that as it may for the politician, the scientist sees in it only a serious endangering of those national qualities which have raised a country to the rank of a world-power. To the ethnographer, a well-marked race is like a rare species of plant or animal. He notes the conditions under which it has been brought to perfection. He points out the environment which it needs for continuance in full vigor, and warns against the surroundings which mean its enfeeblement and decay. And it is the sober judgment of M. Leclère that conquest, under modern conditions, means decadence of the conquering race, demoralization and ruin of the conquered race.

This is a cold douche for science to pour upon our hot and heady Imperialism; but the truth must be told. And the mass of evidence ready to the ethnographer's hand is overwhelming. Accumulated experience enables him to trace the process as if it were an experiment in a laboratory. First comes the physical deterioration on both sides. The conqueror succumbs to new diseases, to the strain of an unaccustomed climate, or else survives with weakened powers. The conquered perish like flies. It is not merely that they fall like grain before the vices of civilization; civilization itself kills them. Its breath slays them. Like wild animals under domestication, they expire through very deprivation of their savage life. "They die by looking at us," said a French sailor. This is an old story. What lends chief value to M. Leclère's paper is its close analysis of the subtle interchange—a sort of moral osmosis—which goes on between the higher conquering race and the lower conquered race. It is, in general, a give-and-take of what is bad in each.

Bagehot long ago observed that "the union of the Englishman and the Hindu produces something not only between races, but between moralities." We have but to study the Dutch in Java, the Germans in Africa, the French in Annam, the Americans in the Philippines, to see what is meant. The foreign ruler is under a powerful temptation to throw off the moral restraints under which he has lived at home. Why should he observe moral conventions, which are largely social conventions, when they do not obtain in the community where he is living? His power being usually arbitrary, he makes it violent and brutal, so as to bring it sharply home to men accustomed to cruelty. Fitzjames Stephen tried to introduce rules of evidence in the Indian criminal code. "What is the use?" it was objected. "We can get any evidence we need by rubbing pepper into a man's eyes." Such cynical indifference and brutality are the commonest effect of full and irresponsible power when conferred upon members of a civilized race set to keep a turbulent lower race in order. They begin by decivilizing themselves. They become subdued to the element in which they work. It is one of the forms of terrible revenge which the conquered take. They perish, but in their death they poison the life of their conquerors. The history of tropical colonization is one long *væ victoribus!*

M. Leclère shows with appalling clearness how necessarily demoralizing are even the well-meant attempts of civilized races to benefit savage peoples. The first effect of bringing in a new standard of morals, of preaching a new religion—especially when this is done by conquerors possessing themselves of the country—is to loosen the bonds which hold native society together. It is a com-

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monplace of the Christian pulpit that, if our religious faith were to be destroyed, morality would disappear and men would fly at each other's throats. Yet precisely that is what we undertake to bring about in heathen countries; and we are surprised when like results follow like causes. Look at what we are doing in China to-day. We are ruthlessly desecrating the things most sacred to Chinamen. We are making a mock of their religion, their legislation, their morality. And then we are pained and indignant when we find them untruthful, cruel, and murderous! We go elaborately to work in a wholesale way to do in China what we admit would, if done in America, lead straight to social anarchy, and then we say—even missionaries say—that we must kill a lot more Chinamen because they are acting like anarchists. This is not sweet reasonableness.

We cannot stop to speak of M. Leclère's exposure of the lying reports of French colonial Governors. They always represent the natives as now fully ready to "accept civilization." We have already too long a line of official Philippine absurdities of that kind to make it possible for us to cast a stone at the French. Accepting civilization, however, we see to mean, from the standpoint of ethnography, accepting physical and moral death. And for conquerors the question is, Are they willing to accept barbarism? It has been said of the Chinese that they have, in the end, always conquered their conquerors. Is it to be true of the higher races of to-day that, going forth to conquer, they return on the moral level of the races they have conquered? This is a searching question which science puts to our glib Imperialists.

CHANGES AT WEST POINT.

The just published report of the Board of Visitors to the West Point Military Academy for 1900 might well have made more than a brief reference to the great change in the educational methods of that institution under its present management, and particularly during the incumbency of the present Commandant of Cadets, Lieut.-Col. Otto T. Hein, an officer of the First Cavalry. It is a striking fact that only within the last two years has the military efficiency of a cadet, which means so much to his future army life, been taken into account in determining his standing upon graduation. Still stranger is the fact that, for the first time in a century, West Point is now beginning to turn out young officers trained in the habit of command and in practical military exercises instead of graduating, as hitherto, men merely conversant with company drills and imbued with a sound knowledge of the "bookish theoretic" of the art of war.

To those who have regarded the West Point curriculum as beyond improvement, the statement that a cadet's training was formerly confined merely to class-room work and to the most elementary drills, must seem astonishing.

For decades past the young lieutenant who joined his regiment fresh from West Point found himself utterly at a loss, despite the fact that he held the diploma of the most successful military school in the world. If he had been one of the few cadet officers, he was able to drill a company with ease. His classmate, who carried a rifle as a private throughout his four years, was less fortunate and less experienced. Neither was able to put his company under canvas, because neither had ever seen a tent raised. Neither was able to assist his captain in the detailed and exhausting paper work required of a company commander, because neither had ever seen the endless reports, rosters, requisitions, and returns required of that officer. Either might have forced upon him over night, as often happened, the duties of post adjutant, signal officer, ordnance officer, and of acting quartermaster in charge of Government property worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, without any more practical experience of those various duties than the latest appointee from civil life totally devoid of previous military experience.

If his troop or company were suddenly marched out on strike duty, or because of an Indian uprising, the new lieutenant went along to learn the fundamentals of his duty from grizzled noncommissioned officers or his commissioned superiors. If the command intrenched itself, he saw intrenchments for the first time. If it deployed for action, he found his place on the firing-line only when told where to go or because of Anglo-Saxon intuition; in his four years at West Point he had never seen an attack formation, much less participated in one as a responsible officer.

This state of affairs Col. Hein and his officers have ended, with the sanction of the two Superintendents who have been at West Point since 1897. The supreme aim of turning out an officer trained to meet every emergency of actual service now regulates the purely military education of the cadet. Instead of having to go through the same drills, rifle on shoulder, with which he became familiar in the first six weeks of his stay at the Academy, up to the day of graduation, the cadet varies his "close order," or company and battalion, drills with "practical exercises." He masters the handling of a mountain-gun battery, a gatling-gun battery, and a mortar battery, and awaits only the arrival of siege and coast-defence guns to add their intricacies to his knowledge of the handling of a mounted field battery. On his now regular practice marches, the cadet grooms, saddles, and unsaddles his cavalry or artillery horse, raises his own tent, and "packs" his baggage-mules, as if to the cowboy manner born. As an infantryman, he is no longer confined to parade-ground manœuvres, but has his fill of open-order drills, attack formations, picket and guard and reconnoissance duty, while the same target work is required of him which is expected of the ordinary soldier.

The most important changes of all are those by virtue of which the cadet is now trained in responsibility and command, and is marked during his senior, or first-class, year upon his military efficiency. By a careful system of rotation each cadet is given the opportunity to fill practically every officer's position in the battalion. He must act as adjutant, as captain, as major, as lieutenant of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, as officer of the day and of the guard, and as instructor of the junior cadets, so that no duty will be strange to him when he enters the regular service. Upon the way in which he conducts himself at each one of these drills, upon his knowledge, his bearing, his voice, his ability to teach others, etc., each instructor passes and hands in a mark. The average of all the grades counts towards determining the rank of the cadet and so the branch of the service to which he will be assigned, although the percentage credited to military efficiency is still but a very small part of the cadet's mark for the whole course, or even for the senior year.

These changes at West Point were introduced by an officer conversant with the latest European military advances. A few years ago it was often impossible to get an older regular officer to admit that American military methods could be improved upon. Lieut.-Col. Hein's ready absorption and appreciation of foreign ideas is plain proof of the folly of this attitude. His demonstration of the great advantages which may be derived from sending an officer abroad as military attaché should lead to a large detail of young officers to this duty every year. Even if this should be neglected, the presence of such well-trained officers as are now coming from West Point will do much for the reform and for the efficiency of the army. That we shall still have Eagans and Shafters and Otises with us must be expected, as long as the War Department is run by the Corbin methods of political favoritism which disgrace it to-day. But the days of companies ignorant of all except the simplest drills, of five-year soldiers who never made a march, and of recruits placed upon the firing-line ignorant of the mechanism of their rifles (as Gen. Wheeler reports them in the Philippines), may confidently be counted on to come to an end. If the taxpayer, thanks to Mr. McKinley, has to foot a steadily increasing bill for his army, he may have the slight consolation of knowing that his dollars are gradually buying him a better and better article.

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CAMPAIGN BOGIES.

It seems to me that the care of Providence for the American people is never so strikingly displayed as during the Presidential campaign every four years. At that time about one-half of the voting population arises in its might, and, according to the other half, determines to put an end to the "great experiment." The republic, which one party is bent on extinguishing by means of financial and political ruin, is preserved by the other side, for one more trial. The Presidential election, as a means of ruin, began its fatal work as early as Jefferson's day, when one of the Federalist moralists exposed the design of the Republicans, as the other party were then called, to fling the Federalists' wives and daughters "into the common stews." At that period the fatal blow was to be dealt out of pure wickedness. It was later that a real reason appeared for breaking up the Union, in the shape of the Northern attempt to abolish slavery. But at every Presidential election something terrible was to result from the triumph of one side or the other, until in 1884 the continuance of the Union was threatened by "rum, Romanism, and rebellion."

I was dining one evening during that year with a friend and a party composed, in the main, of persons of distinction. Cleveland had been elected, but had not taken his place. The *Tribune* was daily publishing lists of the enormous sums which would have to be paid in satisfaction of "rebel claims," the total amount of which was, I believe, some billions of dollars. One gentleman was calling attention to the amount with horror, when Abram S. Hewitt, who was present, said, "I am on the Congressional Committee which has to pass these claims, and I can assure you that not one of them will be paid." The effect of this on the gentleman who had brought the subject up, and who was a warm Republican, was very curious. He was thunderstruck, and passed some minutes in silent meditation. "Well," said he at last, "there must be terrible lying somewhere." As every one else at the table was well aware that the air was full of campaign lies, this drew forth shouts of laughter, and the subject was buried in a discussion as to which side lied the more.

About the same time a Republican friend of mine in the country wrote to me, offering to sell all his securities—and he was a man of some wealth—for half their face value in case of Cleveland's election. I wrote him accepting the offer, but I never heard from him again. Shortly afterwards I heard from one of our prominent financiers, the President of a great company, that the spectacle of workingmen killing each other in the streets would be witnessed frequently in New York as soon as Cleveland took his seat. Some people were so affected by the prospect of these horrors that it was seriously proposed that President Arthur should prevent their occurrence by refusing to surrender his place to Mr. Cleveland. I ridiculed these fears in the columns of the *Nation*, on the ground that they were tantamount to a confession that the Republic was a failure. They were really a confession that only half the people were fit to rule it. The only notice I saw taken of my point was by the New York *Evangelist*, which protested against the idea that only one of the two great parties was capable of carrying on the Government. But I think the fears of the timid were not actually dissipated until Cleveland had taken his place as President. It is droll now to remember that these fears were inspired by the prospect that the Government would be carried on by the fearless, clear-headed, and thoroughly honest Grover Cleveland, instead of by the corrupt and time-serving James G. Blaine. I do not think there is in our history an apter illustration of the confusion of the electioneering brain.

I happened, while writing on this topic, to be reading Sir William Anson's edition of the autobiography of the Duke of Grafton, about 1766. I was struck by the efforts made by all the parties, from the King down, to get the opinion of Lord Chatham on the crisis through which the Government was passing. For many months no one was admitted to see the old orator. Even his knocker was muffled, to prevent people from approaching him. But on the 5th of December, 1777, there was a great debate in the House of Lords on the accounts received from Gen. Burgoyne of his defeat at Saratoga, and on the employment of Indian savages by the Government. Chatham felt the occasion to be one of the first importance, and had himself carried to the House. It was the last effort of the "old Mugwump," as I call him, or the "great man and illustrious patriot," as the Duke of Grafton calls him, to save his "sinking country." Here is Lord Camden's account, written to the Duke of Grafton, of what happened in the House:

"I saw him in the Prince's chamber, before he went into the House, and conversed a little with him, but such was the feeble state of his body, and indeed the distempered agitation of his mind, that I did forebode that his strength would certainly fail him before he finished his speech."

But he spoke enough to make his remarks a consuming fire for the Hannas, the Platts, and the Roosevelts of the day.

It appears now, according to the Expansionists, that so far as principle was concerned, the American Government might have begun its career of conquest from the day of its foundation; the only thing that prevented it was want of money or want of men. It might have bought the Poles from Russia, the Greeks from the Turks, the Italians from Austria, and the Tyrolese from Bonaparte at so much a head, and have assumed the job of conquering or slaughtering them itself, without inconsistency. Yet a century ago the noble passage, beginning "Were I an American, as I am an Englishman," was in every American schoolboy's mouth. Instead of that, we now hear calculations as to how much stocks will fall if the wrong man is elected. It took the learned McKinley to find out this secret principle of the Constitution. E. L. G.

SUNSET OR DAWN.

FLORENCE, September 24, 1900.

The liberty with which Clericals and Socialists have held their congresses in Rome is a proof that all attempts to make capital out of the catastrophe of Monza have failed; that the reactionists who, from the birth of the new kingdom, have regarded chains and handcuffs, arbitrary arrests, provisional imprisonment, gagging of the press, prohibition of public meetings, as the only methods of government, are checkmated by the young King's quiet affirmation that "exceptional laws are unnecessary if only the ordinary laws be applied impartially to all classes and individuals." The congresses in themselves have been nothing remarkable. The Clericals, up to a certain point, admitted the right to existence of the civil power by appealing to the state to permit "free teaching." The conduct of the Vatican during the late events, its attempt to prove that King Humbert had recanted and received absolution; the prohibition of funeral masses in some churches, the expulsion of the national flag from others; the Vatican's declaration of hostility at a moment of profound, let us even say hysterical, emotion, has done more to embitter old grievances and open new wounds than any mere assertion of the temporal power during the last thirty years had accomplished. Still, the pilgrimages from various parts of Italy, the tribes of youths educated in seminaries and conducted to Rome by their priestly tutors to receive the Pope's blessing, while strictly forbidden to approach the Pantheon, where the two first Kings of United Italy are buried, clearly show that Italy is a kingdom divided against itself, and that the civil power is unwisely providing its enemy with weapons which he will use to good purpose at the first opportune moment. It was rumored that the young King would have left his retirement at Capodimonte and been present at Rome during the commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the entry into Rome by the Italian army "through the breach of Porta Pia." But this could hardly be expected of him during these first months of mourning, and it must be remembered that King Victor never came to Rome on the 20th of September, and Humbert once only, to celebrate the silver wedding of Rome to Italy in 1895.

The Socialist Congress has excited far more interest than the Catholic, but the hymns of triumph raised on the one hand, the wails of dismay and terror on the other, are, to Anglo-Saxon ears, equally exaggerated. True it is that during the late elections the Socialists captured 170,000 votes, the Republicans 80,000, the Radicals 90,000, the various branches of the Left 261,000; 601,000 in all, which, compared with the 675,000 polled by the Conservatives, brings the so-called popular party within a measurable distance of their adversaries. But it must be remembered that the late elections were held in exceptional circumstances. The imprisonment of hundreds of peaceful citizens tried by military tribunals whose sentences were all quashed by the civil courts, cast a halo of martyrdom around the liberated prisoners. Then, the proclamation of exceptional coercive laws by royal decree, the attempt to alter the rules of the House by an ignoble manœuvre, the distinct violation of the *Statuto*, brought into the ranks of the Opposition such calm old statesmen as Zanardelli and Villa. The Government showed its utter ignorance of the feeling throughout the country by choosing that moment, despite its servile majority, for the general elections; and the result, for all who had eyes to see, was a foregone conclusion. Were Saracco, the present Premier, and one of the few survivors of the old Conservative party, the champions of order and impartial justice, to make an appeal to the country now, it would be difficult to predict the result.

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But let us admit that what is called scientific socialism has spread in Italy during the last eight years. What is the meaning of the phenomenon? Does one Italian in a hundred believe in collectivism, in the millennium to be attained under a proletary dictatorship, in the abolition of all classes save theirs, in the abolition of private property, of capital as a distinct factor in economical production, in labor as the only standard of value? We should be nearer the mark in saying that not one in a thousand holds any of these doctrines. And the intelligent, cultured, alert leaders of "scientific socialism" are so convinced of this that, during the late Congress, the vast majority opposed Ferri's proposal to devote their chief energies to propaganda, to the formation of "socialistic consciences," and decided to continue and strengthen their alliance with Republicans, Radicals, and the adherents of the Left in Parliament, in order to carry out their "minimum programme," and, with the assistance of all these parties, or fractions of parties, secure fresh seats in Parliament. Clever fellows, and wise in their generation, though void of all originality in their programme or tactics. What we cannot understand is the supine indifference of the Radicals, Republicans, Extreme and Historical Left, in allowing the Socialists to pirate their own programme formulated by Mazzini as early as 1836, accepted and carried out in its essential parts by the reforming Liberals between 1876 and 1890, to rebaptize it and present it as a brand-new remedy for existing social evils under the title of the Socialistic minimum programme. Take two columns of a newspaper and print Mazzini's exposition of what the working classes demand, beside this list of "political, economical, administrative, and fiscal *transformations*," and you will see they are "like as two tears." Plain people in European monarchies and republics call them reforms; that is all the difference.

The extension of the suffrage preached in old Piedmont has become an accomplished fact in Italy, due entirely to the "odious *borghesi*" who, before the workmen (still less the peasants) demanded the vote, gave it them as a free gift, forgetting to teach its use and benefits, so that even now barely 50 per cent. go to the polls. In like manner, they abolished capital punishment—whether wisely or no, we will not inquire. The political and social equality of the sexes is a very old Mazzinian doctrine; so are freedom of the press and of public meetings, the rights of association, of coöperative societies, leagues, labor boards; responsibility of the Government and its functionaries; habeas-corpus; trial by jury for all political or social questions; neutrality of the state in all conflicts between labor and capital—hence the right of strikes and of all peaceful methods of resistance on the part of the strikers; the substitution of an armed nation on the Swiss system, in lieu of conscription; religious liberty and equality—hence the abolition of a state Church; reform of the civil code and of penal procedure; abolition of preventive imprisonment and secret interrogation, of enforced residence (*domicilio coatto*); an entire reorganization of prisons and prison discipline; limitation of the work of women and children and of the number of hours for adult males; old-age pensions; insurance against accidents; arbitration in labor disputes; reform of agrarian contracts; concession of public works to coöperative societies; assistance and protection of emigrants; nationalization of mining and transport industries—their exercise by the state when the cooperative societies cannot assume them; expropriation of uncultivated lands to be assigned to associations of peasants; a board of trade or labor board to be assisted by representatives elected by organized working men. Among the administrative and tributary *transformations*, we do not find a single proposal for which there is not lying shelved some bill already presented by some reformer in days gone by.

My charge against the Socialists is that they have broken up the perfectly organized societies of workingmen who in 1871 federated in the "contract of brotherhood," multiplied and progressed until 1890, when, with the death of the old leaders, they were left as sheep without a shepherd and fell into the claws of the wolf in sheep's clothing. Where are the coöperative societies founded by those workingmen, with their flourishing house-building service at S. Pier d'Arena, their steamer-building yards at Lerici, to be found among the Socialistic churches? Have the Socialists, on their own lines, organized bona-fide workingmen's societies, able, through skill, intelligence, thrift, to set aside sums for undertaking public works or fertilizing public or uncultivated land? They have done nothing of the kind. The most heartrending strikes take place under their auspices, left unaided, unsupported, to fall a prey to the shameless policy of the Government, which sent soldiers of the national army to reap the rice for the sole benefit of the proprietors, who actually forbade the wives and children of the expelled reapers to glean the grains scattered after the sheaves had been gathered in. Again, while the Socialists profess to adopt peaceful and legal methods to attain their ends, their tactics of class war are understood by the ignorant masses to mean class hatred—war on capital, on capitalists and proprietors. The class harmony preached and practised by the old patriots and reformers is utterly destroyed, and for the time being the Socialists hold the field. No Governmental or Parliamentary measures can restore that harmony. Nothing can avail unless every individual, every party, realizing the abnormal condition of the country, sets to work to help on a return to a normal state. There are signs of an awakening conscience among the thoughtful, cultured classes.

The Republicans announce their national congress for November, but they would be better advised were they to be silent till they have repaired their sins of omission and commission, and separated themselves from the party which holds doctrines and uses methods condemned by the leaders whom they profess to follow. A remarkable discourse of Ettore Sacchi, one of the most influential and intelligent members of the old Radical Left, calls on the Liberals to prove that all necessary reforms, all social ameliorations can be effected within the orbit of existing institutions, and admonishes the working classes that their fellow-workers in England have attained their ends in great measure by using the suffrage, and by working hand in hand with friends of progress and liberty to whatever party they belong; that they, too, have the vote and do not use it, but allow themselves to be carried away by every wind of doctrine. This is true to a certain point, but alas! the vote in Italy is not free; corruption and bribery on the part of the Government prevail to a frightful extent, and in the small towns and centres, where wealth and power are in the hands of a few, workmen dare not vote save for the candidate imposed by the local magnate. Sidney Sonnino, the man chiefly responsible for the last two years of illegal government, is crying peccavi and suggesting all sorts of social reforms, but affirms that no tributary reforms can yet be attempted. This brings Pasquale Villari to the rescue. He politely reminds Sonnino that, though he was one of the earliest band of reformers (and in fact his great work on Sicily is the text-book for the amelioration of that patriotic but ill-used island), he increased the tax on salt, the duty on corn, and seized 10 per cent. of the interest on consols when he became Minister; and gives it as his own opinion that, though tributary reforms cannot be carried suddenly and completely, some immediate steps may—nay, must—be taken to relieve the excessive burdens of the masses unless we are prepared to allow the Socialists to completely dominate them, and have the State disarmed in the presence of the great enemy enthroned in the centre of Italy.

Meanwhile the King is daily receiving the Ministers separately, is examining their projects, and has expressed his hope that they will at once fulfil his father's promises to abolish *domicilio coatto*. The new-broom theory must be borne in mind, but we are not without hope that we have passed through the darkest hour, the hour that precedes the dawn. J. W. M.

THE NEW ROOMS IN THE LOUVRE.

LONDON, September, 1900.

It is extraordinary how little has been said about the recent alterations in the Louvre. The new rooms were opened towards the end of last May, but there are still many people who have not heard of the enormous improvement made in a gallery that once was almost the worst hung in Europe. The Exposition, for the moment, has monopolized attention—though not the crowds of tourists—and there has been no time to consider or write about the permanent collection. In any other year so important an event could hardly have been received in the same silence.

In the old days the Louvre, to me, was always a disappointment, the keener because, perhaps, it was the one of all others in which perfection might, not unreasonably, have been expected. The French usually know how to order art matters better than most people; the collection can boast an almost unrivalled number of masterpieces, while no national gallery can compete with it in the grandeur of the first impressions it inspires, as one enters by the wide stairway, with the beautiful winged Victory at the top, and presently passes into the Salon Carré, the famous room where the old masters of all nations meet—"the most glorious assembly of painters to be seen in the world." Here, indeed, the critic's task was always light. Years ago, Gautier said there was wanting only Velasquez, for whose "Infanta Marguerita" a corner might well have been

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spared. But, probably because of his suggestion, that corner was found in due time, and the reason for his one reproach removed. The wonderful series that includes Rembrandt's "Hendrickje Stoffels," Leonardo's "Mona Lisa," Titian's "Laura de' Dianti," Giorgione's "Concert Champêtre," Rubens's "Helena Fourment," Tintoretto's "Susannah at the Bath," is but feebly described even in Gautier's eloquent phrase, "radieux cénacle de la peinture." There are a few canvases that might be banished with advantage, even to themselves. But, on the whole, pleasure in the Salon Carré puts an end, and always has, to criticism.

The old disappointment began when one left it for the Long Gallery, which used to be my despair. Often as I visited it, I would come away with but a confused memory of masters and schools jumbled up together; of a patchwork of pictures—canvases crowded in any way so they might be made to fit and leave not an inch of space between; of a chaos of paint, culminating finally in the florid flamboyancy of Rubens's tribute to Marie de Médicis. That many great pictures—masterpieces—were scattered here and there in this bewildering medley, there could be no doubt. But the question was how to see them? Certainly, my experience was that, in the confusion, I saw nothing, Fortunately, it is this Long Gallery that profits most by the recent additions. At its far end, a door now opens into a spacious room where many of the larger pictures and portraits by Rubens and Van Dyck have been hung. This leads into still another no less spacious room, the Salle Rubens, devoted to the Marie de Médicis series, and flanked on either side by a long series of little alcoves or cabinets, very like the cabinets in Dresden, filled with the smaller works of the Dutch and Flemish schools.

It can easily be understood how much hanging space has thus been gained. But the French authorities have not made this an excuse for plastering the new walls with pictures after the fashion of an English Academy exhibiton. Probably they have long been more conscious than any one else of the terrible congestion in the galleries. It is true they have availed themselves of the opportunity to bring out canvases that hitherto have been stored away, and to make many minor changes. Several pictures, for instance, have been taken altogether from the Salon Carré, several others have been given a different place there, notably the Giorgione, now on the north wall, by the "Mona Lisa." But the chief end kept in view has been such an arrangement of the pictures that all may be seen and enjoyed as they never could be before. The result is in many ways admirable, though, perhaps, the greatest triumph is the Salle Rubens.

The Marie de Médicis series always seemed simply impossible in the Long Gallery. There is probably little of Rubens himself in the colossal canvases, save the flamboyancy of design, and this became wearisome beyond endurance when they hung there, side by side, with no more than the width of their frames to separate one from the other. I could never agree with the late R. A. M. Stevenson—with whom always one wanted to agree—that, seen in their old places, they were found to be "full of beauties." Nor could I ever feel that "our idea of Henry IV. is tied to that splendid idealization, that fusion of king, lover, and romantic adventurer, which came so naturally from the creative brush of Rubens, and which is very well shown in the picture, 'Henry IV. receiving the Portrait of Marie de Médicis.'" Even in this there is an element of burlesque, almost, in the absurd mixture of allegory and realism, while all suggestion of romance is speedily destroyed by the farcical melodrama of the picture which, later in the series, represents the "Apotheosis of Henry"; the gallant King in full armor being transported bodily up to heaven. But, apart from subject and design, there is no question that these paintings are without the splendor of a genuine Rubens; too much in them was clearly manufactured in the Rubens shop. Who would not willingly give them all for that one small portrait of "Helena Fourment" in the Salon Carré? However, it should be remembered that Rubens intended the series for the decoration of a palace, the Luxembourg. As they jostled each other in the Long Gallery, it was no easier to decide upon their decorative merit than to appreciate fully the mural designs of Puvis de Chavannes when exhibited at the Champ-de-Mars. But now, in the Salle Rubens, for the first time since they were removed to the Louvre, the pictures do form part of the decorative schemes of a palatial apartment, where there are no other canvases to break in upon the intended harmony. Each has a separate architectural frame or setting, all ornament and gilding as flamboyant as itself; there is ample space on the wall—proportioned walls consecrated solely and entirely to them—and the hall throughout is decorated in the same ornate style. I cannot say that the extravagance of design pleases me any better here than in the Long Gallery. But, at least, it is in keeping, and the whole effect is as sumptuous, as gorgeous, as regal, as Rubens meant that it should be. It is characteristic of the French that, once the authorities at the Louvre were able to make the change, they should have allowed no consideration of economy in the new space at their disposal to interfere with the appropriate carrying out of a great painter's scheme of decoration, already too long dishonored by the exigence of hanging on overladen walls.

I must admit that, just at present, the effect is almost too gorgeous. The gilding needs the kind touch of time to soften its now aggressive freshness. The other galleries also will improve with the years. The Long Gallery was redecorated before it was rehung, and it and the little cabinets have had their walls painted a red far too vivid for the purpose. The perfect background for pictures is one which never asserts itself. If you can come away without having seen it, you may be sure no fault need be found. It had never occurred to me to look at the walls of the Salon Carré until this red in the newly decorated rooms had disturbed and distracted and annoyed me. When I did look, I found that, as in the days of Gautier, they are of a neutral tone—which may, for all I know, have once been a decided color—and that, whatever the material that covers them, it gives the effect of rich old faded Cordova leather. Attention is never called away from the pictures; when it does wander deliberately, as in my case, it is to a background which, in its sombre elegance, is worthy of the work of the Masters hanging upon it. There is still another drawback to the little alcoves or cabinets. A side light is never the best for pictures, and many suffer in consequence. Of course, the hour of the day makes all the difference. While I thought I had never realized the solemn beauty of Rembrandt's "Supper at Emmaus" and "The Good Samaritan" so well, I have heard men whose opinion I respect regret that their supreme beauty seemed dimmed, as it were, in their present quarters. In rearranging an old building to meet a new purpose, there must, of course, always be many difficulties in the way. The pity is that the conditions did not make a good top light possible in all the rooms just opened. Still, notwithstanding the drawbacks, the pictures at the Louvre have never yet been seen to such advantage. Or, it would be nearer the truth to say, that many of them have never before been seen at all.

Indeed, the improvement is so great that the drawbacks, serious as they are, cannot but be accepted with philosophy. One will now wait anxiously for the moment when the authorities can take the modern French work in hand. The Long Gallery was not more overcrowded than that big room of modern painters still is. It is to be hoped that the day will come when David and Ingres, Delacroix and Regnault, Millet and Corot also may at last be seen with profit and pleasure. N. N.

Correspondence.

NEITHER THE ONE NOR THE OTHER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One of the very small number of your subscribers in this part of the Union, I have for years been accustomed to swear by the *Nation's* opinions upon most political subjects. Just now I am more inclined to swear at them.

After giving us the best and strongest arraignments of Imperialism, making it the question of questions; after proving McKinley to be responsible for all the wrong and outrage upon the Filipinos; now, when you have an opportunity to support a man who makes the righting of those wrongs the paramount issue of his campaign, a man whose word is unquestioned by all who know him, you claim to have no choice between two parties, but sit on a fence and scold at both. Considering your position for the past two years, your present course is, in my opinion, more helpful to McKinley than your open support could be. He will be elected, I expect, and you will have assisted that result. Then, if I can understand you, you expect to oppose Imperialism after it has received popular endorsement in the reëlection of McKinley, and after he has packed the Supreme Court with lawyers who will give opinions to fit his course. You might as well hold a caucus after election, or oppose a daughter's marriage a week after the wedding. Truman Buck.

Omaha, Nebraska, October 8.

[We cannot think Mr. McKinley would prefer our consistent attitude towards him from the beginning of the campaign to open support—which he shall not have. We should be willing to try Mr.

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Bryan's medication of the Imperialist plague, but in other matters, if we do not question his word, we question both his wisdom and his character; and neither shall he have our support.—Ed. Nation.]

THE VESTAL PRECINCT IN THE FORUM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A very important article has recently appeared in the August number of the *Nuova Antologia*, from the pen of Sig. Boni, who is in charge of the excavations now being carried on in the Roman Forum. Sig. Boni is a comparatively young engineer, born in the province of Emilia, and brought into prominence by his clever work in restoring the Ducal Palace in Venice. Under the late ministry, when Dr. Guido Baccelli was Minister of Public Instruction, Boni was set to work in the Forum, with what remarkable results, every student of archæology has read. Therefore, whatever Boni has to say of his work in the precinct of Vesta will be received with ready and awakened interest.

The most recent diggings have been carried on immediately to the east of the temple of the Castors, along the line of what may provisionally be called the Vicus Vestæ. Here, embedded in a rude wall constructed without mortar, and dating probably from the seventh or eighth century, were found several architectural fragments of prime importance for the reconstruction of the edifice. A large piece of the monolithic architrave, ornamented with coffer-panelled soffit, together with part of the partially open tholos-roof, afford additional data for the measurement of the radius, which has been checked by turning over the marble blocks and arranging them about a common centre. We thus obtain, as the outer radius of the architrave, 6.745 m. It is now possible, from the existing remains, the representation of the temple on a large number of coins and on several well-known sculptured reliefs, and from various details given in sketches and designs of cinquecento and secento architects, to draw a restoration that will have very little of the fanciful, and will give a very fair idea of the shrine of the most picturesque of the ancient Latin divinities.

Boni's first point is the determination of the date of the lowest stratum of the foundation. This he does very neatly, by submitting the masonry to a rigorous examination. The tool-marks, as well as the shaping of the stone, which prove to have peculiarities in common with the Templum Sacræ Urbis, the modern church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, lead him to date it some time in the reign of Vespasian. The chief parts of the superstructure are assigned to the third century, to the restoration carried on by Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

Next follows the part on which our main interest centres. In the inner core of the shrine is a very curious cavity, which may be called for convenience the *favissa*. When its section is carefully measured, its trapezoidal shape may be detected. Last May, I examined the *favissa* in company with Sig. Boni, and I must confess that the variation from a square is so slight that I am rather skeptical as to the soundness of his theory. It is briefly as follows. The prehistoric people of northern Italy who inhabit the region extending from below Bologna to the Alps during the bronze age, used to build their settlements near streams of running water, for both convenience and defence. It was their practice, in order not to be obliged to dig their defensive ditch clear around the settlement, to make a trench diverge from the stream at an acute angle, so that the force of the current would keep the water flowing about the village and into the parent stream again. In this way probably arose the trapezoidal shape so characteristic of the "terramare," as they are called. The acute angle was always towards the water. According to Boni, this figure would come to have a sacred significance, and would be used in other connections. Such he would claim to be the case in the present instance. The acute angle of the *favissa* of the shrine of Vesta, which points in a northerly direction, presumably points towards some sacred pool or spring, perhaps the Fons Juturnæ, in the neighborhood of which the temple of the Castors was said to have been erected a hundred years before Roman records begin.

Let us examine this very ingenious theory a little more closely. Although the *terramaricoli* did hit on the trapezium as the most suitable figure for the peculiar method of defence which they had adopted for their settlements, it does not necessarily follow that this rude four-sided figure, a most natural form in itself, became so hallowed with associations as to be considered sacred, and to be used symbolically for other purposes. The same may be said regarding the trapezoidal form of Roma Quadrata. It is not strange, when we consider how much nature had done for the Palatine, that the early settlers should have chosen it as a likely site for a strongly fortified town. The precipitous heights were surrounded by marshy valleys—the Vallis Murcia, Velabrum, and the Forum—while the overflow of the Tiber washed the base. The lay of the land is such that the wall-defences would naturally form an irregular quadrangle. Furthermore, Roma, Alba Longa, Lavinium, and Antemnæ were not terramare. But the most obvious argument of all is that the trapezoidal shape of the *favissa* is not at first apparent. The angle-variation is, I think, hardly noticeable; it is a pity that Boni did not give it in his description.

But although the fact remains, it is possible to discover other reasons for the curious phenomenon. The soil on which the temple is placed is a clay ridge, at the base of the northwest corner of the Palatine—a region which we know was once a swamp and flooded by the Tiber. In the course of succeeding reconstructions a small initial deviation would tend to be exaggerated, especially as the central core of the temple, being hidden from view, did not have to present to the eye the symmetry and grace of the exterior. This deviation from the true rectangular form may have been due to a bit of contractor's negligence (as we know that jobbery was practised by Verres, for example, in the repairing of the temple of the Castors), or it may have been started by the settling of the foundation during some such landslide as took place in the year 1715. At any rate, the terramare argument, however seductive, is at best only an hypothesis. Right here it may be stated that the location of the Fons Juturnæ is by no means certain, the same evidence leading Lanciani, who has made a specialty of the Roman springs and aqueducts, to place it about a hundred feet southwest of the temple of the Castors, at the base of the Palatine.

Within the sacred precinct of the shrine of Vesta, Boni found a curious heap of charred oakwood, mingled with clay, pottery, and bones of sheep, swine, young cattle, dogs, deer, etc. But it requires too much of a leap of the imagination to infer that because the oak was used in the sacrificial service, therefore we have remains of a sacrifice which has been extinguished by a libation; and the bones belong to the *suovetaurilia* and some form of canine sacrifice which we cannot yet connect with the Vesta worship. Such finds are so common in the Forum, which has had such a checkered history, that it is better to be cautious in asserting anything quite so startling. In like manner, it does not follow that a bit of pottery showing a female face, apparently drawn by the inexpert hand of a woman, is the work of a Vestal of the third century B. C.

All credit is due to Commendatore Boni for the thorough and systematic way in which he is prosecuting his explorations. Everything that can possibly add to the value of the work is religiously preserved, and stored up in the tiny museums which he has been starting in some of the late imperial guard-houses and in the Heroön of Romulus, in the heart of the Forum. If he can have his way, we may expect to see some day more attempts at reconstructing the ancient sites, and making the Palatine and Forum one great open-air archæological museum. George Dwight Kellogg.

Yale University, October 13, 1900.

SCHOLARSHIP AND ETHICS.

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: It is only within a few days that I have been able to confront with the excessively rare original of Benavides's 'Memorial' (1630), the "translation" printed in the New York Public Library *Bulletin* for November and December, 1899, from which some "separates" were made up for private distribution. But the inaccessibility of this indispensable "source," scarcest of Americana, makes still timely some comment upon the *Bulletin* version. Students, of course, would detect, even without collation, some of the grossest blunders here committed; but it is only upon punctual comparison with the text that one can realize how grisly is the travesty upon scholarship.

Perhaps the first question which will occur to every Americanist who thinks in his turn to die and leave scraps of paper behind him, is an ethical one. If the New York Public Library has no compunctions for its own reputation; nor tenderness for names so conjuring as Lenox and Astor; nor responsibility to science—is it also exempt of all duty to the scholarly dead? To make a brave and serious scholar like the lamented John Gilmary Shea sponsor for this caricature upon science seems to me the refinement of cruelty. Those who knew no more about him might well judge him an impudent and ignorant pretender; and it was too much to expect that no one would care to verify this translation, even if the Library did not. The simple fact is, that Mr. Shea would not have dreamed of calling this a translation; and as for publishing it——! Not having a Benavides, he

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borrowed the copy I have just used; made a hasty and rough paraphrase for his own reference—much after the fashion of the Arizonan's "scatter-gun, for general results"—and left it uncorrected. To broadcast in his name, absolutely without investigation, this scrap-basket memorandum, must seem to any of his fellow-students an unfriendly act.

At its best this "translation" is utterly unscientific, not only lacking all the exactitude which must mark the translation of "sources," but flagrantly loose. Hundreds of sentences might be quoted in example; but a few single words give an equitable idea of the uncritical style. *Pujança*, "good"; *hoy*, "now"; *despoblado* "annihilated"; *se ha visto*, "*I* have seen"; *conversion, dotrina, jornada*, all "mission"; *pueblo, poblacion, ciudad*, all "town"; *Flamencos* and *Holandeses*, indifferently "Dutch." Blissful innocence of Spanish grammar crops up throughout. Thus, p. 418, the things that are Cæsar's are rendered not unto Cæsar, but unto Benavides. Where the memorialist says: "I regaled him with what I could," this version has (485): "He regaled me with what he could"; and "so I made it manifest to the people" is rendered (488) "he manifested himself." As serious confoundings of gender, number, mood, and tense are epidemic throughout.

Vital entire clauses are often omitted—as on pp. 483, 488, 489, 492, 493 (twice), 499 (twice), etc.—and gratuitous words injected. Many phrases are not translated at all—as *piedra lumbre* (alum), *xacales* (huts of chinked palisades), *les davan aloaco* (blunder for *aluaço*; gave them an assault at daybreak), etc. *Chirimias* (clarions) is several times quoted *en bruto*, as "Cherennas"—and on a next page twice translated "music."

But these loosenesses, though structural, are child's play to such translations as *calçado* (shoes), "breeches"; *delante* (before), "after"; *ancho* (wide), "deep"; *altura* (latitude), "altitude"; *vezinos* (citizens), "families" (*e. g.*, giving Acoma "7,000 families," instead of 7,000 inhabitants); *media legua* (half a league), " a league and a half"; *ad[h]ercntes* (followers), "tools"; *Reyno* (kingdom), "region"; *principio* (beginning), "North"; *cuaxados* (curdled), "crowded"; *embistió* (besieged), "suckled"; *las viejas salian* (the old women used to go out), "the old men go"; *cinco* (five), "fifty"; *dos mil y seiscientas* (two thousand six hundred), "1,600."

Año passado, as all adepts know, is not merely "last year." Men writing in 1630 here use it of 1626, 1627, and 1628, as well as 1629; and it is steadily translated "last year." The page-headings run throughout "Memorial on New Mexico, in 1626"—a fair example of the slovenliness of the whole production. The Memorial is on New Mexico in 1629; the "1626," seized upon by a careless glance at the first page, refers to a prior report by Santander, here casually mentioned.

It would be impossible to enumerate a tithe of the excruciating humors of this translation-by-guess. *Estufas* (the familiar "Man-Houses" of the Pueblos) are here "hot-houses" and "stoves." *De ocho años á esta parte* (since eight years ago) is rendered "*less* than eight years in this part:" "To other mines," says Benavides, "all the materials and provisions, even the water, are brought from very far"; but his *traducer* has it: "all the materials and provisions must be brought from a distance to the water." On the same page (422), "I determined to take out a quantity of ores from different veins in those mines, and I gave them to some miners of New Spain, who, making assays," etc., is given, "determined to take a quantity. . . . from different veins in those mines, and *some from mines in New Spain*"—the sentence going on to even deeper darknesses.

Gem of all, perhaps, is the repeated and cumulative introduction of *pineapples* into New Mexico and Spain. As the most casual scholar will guess, the word is *piñones*—the tiny pine-nut of Pinus edulis, longest known and most classic of all tree-foods in the United States. But this blithe translation reiterates that "pineapples" are the most abundant fruit in New Mexico; that the "pineapple-*trees*" there are different from those of Spain; "the trees and pineapples (*piñas*, cones), small," though "large and tender to part"; and that at the pueblo of Pecos there are "pine trees that bear wonderful pineapples and other large and graceful trees." After this contribution to the flora of our arid Southwest and to the science of historical translation, one need not be surprised at anything.

Fortunately, a competent translation of Benavides, made, compared, edited, and annotated by responsible hands, with interpaged original, and whatever else may need to make it definitive, is now under way to be brought out by one of the foremost collectors of Americana, in a style worthy of the perfect original in his hands. Aside from its critical value, it will be also—in a sense he would fully appreciate—a vindication of the memory of John Gilmary Shea.

CHARLES F. LUMMIS.

Los Angeles, Cal., October 6, 1900.

CUSHMAN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The etymology of the name *Cushman*, familiar in the early history of New England, and borne still by several not undistinguished persons in the United States, seems never to have been discovered. It was so stated when the 'Cushman Genealogy' was published years ago, and no successful interpretation has been reported since. Some time ago the present writer happened upon an interpretation of his own, which the citation at page 276 of No. 1840 of the *Nation* of the term *kissere*, "a maker of *cushes* for the thighs," recalls, and which he desires to place on record here. The name Cushman is, in all probability, neither more nor less than "*cushe*-man," the "man of the *cushes*," maker or fitter of thigh-armor. This etymology seems strengthened by the fact that, with the older, unpolished New England population, the name is very often pronounced as "*Kwish*-man," while the older English (approaching more closely to the French) for *cushes* is *cuishes*.

ALEX. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

Clark University, Worcester, Mass., October 13, 1900.

Notes.

Another book on China, by William Barclay Parsons, an American railway engineer, who conducted a survey from Hankau to Canton, is soon to appear from the press of McClure, Phillips & Co.

E. P. Dutton & Co. announce 'Social Imperial Life of Britain, War and Empire,' by Kenelm D. Cotes, M.D., and Shaftesbury's 'Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc.,' edited by John H. Robertson.

Thomas Whittaker will shortly publish 'Present-Day Problems of Christian Thought,' twelve essays by Randolph H. McKim, D.D., of Washington, and a new volume of sermons by Dean Hodges of Cambridge.

Dodd, Mead & Co. are to market here the English edition of the 'Universal History' now in course of publication by the Bibliographisches Institut of Leipzig, under the direction of Dr. Helmolt. It will appear in eight volumes, and will have an editorial introduction by Prof. James Bryce.

'Our Hall of Fame: America's Immortals, and What They Did,' is announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons in the midst of the balloting for the Hall of the University of New York. The several classes will be treated biographically by experts, and will be adequately illustrated with portraits, in two volumes.

'The Story of the Soldier,' by Gen. G. A. Forsyth; 'The Art of Writing English,' by Prof. J. M. D. Meiklejohn; 'The Eagle's Heart,' by Hamlin Garland; and 'The Brass Bottle,' by F. Anstey, are soon to be published by D. Appleton & Co.

Noyes, Platt & Co., Boston, have taken over from Macmillan the 'American Art Annual,' edited by Miss Florence N. Levy.

Lemcke & Buechner, No. 812 Broadway, are the American agents for the series 'Monumenta Societatis Jesu, nunc primum edita a patribus ejusdem societatis,' published monthly in fascicules of 160 pages octavo, in the original language of the documents reproduced. Most of the twenty-three volumes already issued have appeared in the past six years. The matter consists of chronicles, correspondence, lives, relating to the Society of Jesus, and is drawn from public and private archives.

The sympathetic pencil of Howard Pyle lends great harmony to the new illustrated edition of Dr. Weir Mitchell's 'Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker' (The Century Company). The archaic stamp upon the back and the front cover is not inappropriate either, yet the plain cloth of the rear cover answers best to the beautiful typography encased.

Mr. Howard Crosby Butler's 'Scotland's Ruined Abbeys' (Macmillan) has deservedly attained to a reissue within a year. We have already had our word of praise for it.

A new octavo edition of St. Augustine's 'Confessions,' limited to 150 copies for the United States, comes from the Chiswick press through the J. B. Lippincott Co. It is bound in vellum, printed in bold-faced type on unbleached hand-made paper, rubricated, and adorned with a few illustrations. The text is happily that of the old familiar version, which renders the saint's emotional rhetoric so aptly as to need no improvement. This, to be sure, can be read as well or better in the inexpensive Oxford edition of one-sixth the size, but in its present form will be acceptable to those whose devotional meditations require luxurious accessories. There is one mark of carelessness: why should the headline on page 3 represent the work as "In Thirteen Books," when, as the title-page sets forth, but ten are given? The traditional last three books, of course, form no part of the 'Confessions,' but are a commentary on

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Genesis, and as such are properly omitted from later editions.

'"Beautiful Thoughts" from Robert and Elizabeth Browning' (James Pott & Co.) is arranged as a book of days, but quite without regard to season—as must needs generally be the case. The selections might be shuffled and redated at random, and no one would be the wiser. The compiler is Margaret Shipp. The little volume is prettily got up.

Because of previous encounters, one might have expected, in 'Animals of Africa,' by H. A. Bryden (London: Swan & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), to fall upon adventures wild and thrilling and butcheries more or less bloody and destructive, through all of which there is considerable about the writer and something of other natural history; or, to phrase it differently, one might have looked for a great deal of information concerning the habits and disposition of the destroyer, and rather less about the destroyed. It is a relief, therefore, on taking up a volume on African animals to find it to be not exactly of this character. The volume in hand has more about the animals than about the author; it is founded on personal observations which are of such quality as to induce regret at the smallness of their number. The types and the facts related of them pertain to various groups, mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, molluscs, from baboons to tse-tse flies, from elephants to argonauts. The book is not technical; it is intended for readers of all sorts. By and by, when the Englishman's so-called sport has exterminated many of the species, we shall turn to such books for glimpses of the real life of creatures we once knew in the spiritless cages of the menagerie, but of which there will be left only the stuffy, insect-haunted remnants in the museums. Language, accuracy, and illustrations combine to make this an acceptable addition to the "Library for Young Naturalists."

There is unquestionably power of a rude kind in the *Journal's* political cartoons compiled under the title, 'The Dollar or the Man?' (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.). Mr. Homer Davenport's type of giant representing the Trusts suggests Rabelais and Doré, and is shown in unpleasing familiarity with Hanna and McKinley. The essential vulgarity of their moneyed relationship deserves no better treatment than Mr. Davenport's. The Ice Trust is the subject of numerous cartoons, among the most effective. From their collocation here, one might infer a Republican iniquity.

Part xxvi. of Poole's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe (Henry Frowde) contains, as usual, three maps. The first of these, England and Wales in 1086, by Mr. James Tait (xvii.), is of especial interest in that it is a map of the England of the Domesday survey, upon which it is based. It is an excellent piece of work, and though the scale on which it is drawn does not, of course, permit much in the way of indicating individual holdings, save the greater and more compact estates, nearly everything else is to be found here, ecclesiastical divisions, foundations, and centres, as well as political divisions, franchises, and municipal arrangements. Not so original, but still very useful, Miss Lina Eckenstein's detail map of Italy *circa* 1000-1067, with insets of Sicily under Saracen rule and Italy *circa* 850-1000 (lxiv.), fills the gap in the Italian series. The map of the Ottoman Empire in Europe 1356-1897 (lxxxii.), by Mr. W. Miller, will be found a most excellent guide to the tangled mazes of territorial changes in the Balkan Peninsula for the whole of the period of the Turkish occupation—a thing much to be desired and seldom found.

'Leçons d'Anthropologie Philosophique,' by Daniel Folkmar (Paris), starts out with the idea that science should not be developed for science's sake, but for the sake of humanity. Sociology and anthropology especially should be studied in the interest of mankind, and as leading up to a positive system of ethics. Sciences should not be distinguished according to their logical or chronological order, but with a view to their relations to human needs and the attainment of a moral end. Anthropology is "the philosophy of human life." This is rather lofty ground to start from, and questions difficult of solution are propounded. In the course of the work, a number of dicta are enunciated and the activities of human life are generally classified and pigeon-holed. The treatment is largely psychological, and shows much reading and thought; but it cannot be said that we are yet advanced beyond the clear-cut system of Herbert Spencer. The present volume labors under the difficulties attendant upon classification in as yet undeveloped fields of research—a fact which perhaps indicates that the time for successful classification of the youthful social sciences is not yet. What is needed in those departments of science is, not so much ingenious classification according to some a-priori norm, as careful and painstaking research and patient analysis of data. When this has been done, classification will appear in sound and enduring form.

Galveston is the principal subject of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for October. Mr. W. J. McGee treats of its geologic conditions, asserting that the sandbank or "storm-record" on which it is built is half-a-mile in depth, the worst existing foundation for a city, and that the subsidence of the Gulf Coast is not less than a foot per century. From these data he believes that another disaster will follow the rebuilding of the city on its former site. Prof. E. B. Garriott of the Weather Bureau, on the other hand, after tracing the course of the hurricane and describing the general meteorological conditions of that region, concludes that "the future possibility of a like visitation in that locality is extremely remote." A topographical description of the Chinese province Hunan is given by Mr. W. B. Parsons. Its southern half, he says, "is one vast coal-field, both anthracite and bituminous."

The late Capt. M. S. Wellby's account of his journey through Abyssinia to the Nile, in the *Geographical Journal* for September, gives a favorable impression of King Menelek, whose aim seems to be to govern his people justly. The southern part of the kingdom, however, is wholly undeveloped, though admirably suited for both agriculture and grazing. Capt. Wellby's route over the unexplored region between Lake Rudolf and the Sobat will probably be adopted for the transcontinental telegraph and railway, as it avoids the swamps of the White Nile, and passes through an easily traversed country of extraordinary fertility, but sparsely inhabited. Among his followers were several Abyssinians, the first to leave their country on an expedition of this kind. Although not picked men, they served well and honestly throughout the journey to Cairo. The description of a trip through Hayti, by H. Prichard, which follows, is depressing reading to all who are interested in the attempts of the negro at self-government. Indolence, neglect, decay have set their mark on everything. Roads have degenerated into tracks, and these are being abandoned for the riverbeds on some great thoroughfares. The old French plantations are overgrown with jungle; a comparatively small tract near the capital, which once had an annual revenue of four million dollars, does not produce now as many thousands. The people in the interior live, as in Central Africa, on wild fruits, go almost naked, and spend their time in dancing, cock-fighting, and the loathsome rites of Vaudoux, or snake-worship. Considering all this and the natural resources of the republic, its rich soil, mahogany forests, and great mineral wealth, the saying is no doubt true that Hayti is at once the richest and poorest country for its size in the world.

The noteworthy articles in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number five, are Prof. Hergesell's summary of the results of the latest investigations of the temperature of the atmosphere, and Prof. Langhan's account of the commercial relations of the German coast to the sea. This is accompanied by an interesting map, with insets, which show, graphically, the number of steamship lines, the tonnage of the registered vessels, the annual amount of freight, and the number of shipyards and docks of each port, as well as the distribution of the fishing community. Dr. Sievers contributes to number six an historical review of the progress of exploration in South America during the past century, with a map for each decade. The last shows that the still unknown regions are in central Brazil, in the province of Matto Grosso, and the northern part of the Gran Chaco. Number seven contains a description of some of the numerous volcanoes of Guatemala and Salvador, by Dr. C. Sapper, and the geological results of Baron Toll's explorations in northern Asia and the New Siberia Islands. The projected Pan-American railway connecting New York with Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro is discussed optimistically, in number eight, by Dr. Sievers, in an extended notice of the report of the "Intercolonial Railway Commission," Washington. This is followed by Prof. M. Weber's account of the recent voyage of the Netherland ship *Siboga* for the investigation of the marine fauna and flora of the Indian Archipelago.

—The *Atlantic* for October contains an interesting article on "John Ruskin as an Art Critic," by Prof. Charles H. Moore, which has the merit of being more judicial and discriminating in tone than most of the "appreciations" which have appeared since his death. On one point not technical, what Mr. Moore has to say is interesting, if not new. Ruskin dwelt continually upon the influence upon art of moral conditions and the reaction of art itself upon moral character. Mr. Moore holds with him to the extent of insisting that "the works of man inevitably reflect his character, moral or immoral as the case may be," and that consequently, wherever great art exists, "there must have been fine moral fibre somewhere back of it, if not in the individual producer, at least in his predecessors." And, vice versa, if the race decays

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morally, art will decay too. The Greeks developed a noble art, but "the relaxed moral restraints and the coarser sentiments of the later Greek civilization are mirrored in the later art of Greece." As to the counter influence of art on moral character, he thinks that when there is a predisposition to virtue, art will quicken it. This is a very moderate confirmation of the Ruskinian view, and will hardly be accepted by Ruskinians; but can any one go further—except to point out, perhaps, what some of the anti-Ruskinians neglect to observe, that if art is not produced by morality, neither is it produced by immorality? If it were, a high general level of art would have been secured long ago. Mr. L. B. R. Briggs suggests "Some Old-Fashioned Doubts about New-Fashioned Education" in a paper which deserves attention. He dwells very much on one point, which is certainly overlooked—the importance of education as a means of strengthening the weak side of one's nature. Everybody recognizes this in moral education: if we find a child naturally truthful, we do not waste our time in training him not to tell falsehoods; on the other hand, if we find his sense of responsibility weak, we endeavor to strengthen it by awakening him to the importance of it. Now one fashionable hobby in modern intellectual education is to find out the strong predilection of the student and to cultivate that. Another is to make all study attractive and agreeable both in kind and in method. The student comes to the leader "with a bill of rights in his hands," and says, "Mind, you must not be dull, or I will go to sleep; you must attract me, or I shall not get on an inch; you must rivet my attention, or my thoughts will wander." Education was formerly too ascetic and disciplinary, and we have gone to the opposite extreme. The writer insists that we have gone much too far. According to the view which he holds up to ridicule, it is doubtful whether we ought to train the memory over disagreeable things, like the multiplication-table, at all.

—*Harper's* leading article is a paper on Wei-Hai-Wei, by Poulteney Bigelow. There is also another Chinese article (the magazines this month provide a number of them), by H. H. Lowry, on "The Chinese Resentment." Mr. Bigelow, who has a keen interest in military questions, discusses the much-mooted point as to the possibility of making soldiers of the Chinese, and inclines to the affirmative. He quotes Capt. Barnes, who was sent out last year to drill Chinese recruits at Wei-Hai-Wei, as saying that they are marvellously quick at learning the drill, and easily disciplined. Gordon made an "ever-victorious" army out of them, at least against other Chinese, and there is no reason to suppose they are any less brave than other races. What Mr. Bigelow's reflections suggest, though he does not actually say so, is that the real difficulty lies in what produces so many other difficulties for China—its self-satisfied isolation. China had an army generations ago, and still has one, on paper, but it is easy to see how, with isolation once established—as it was until very recently—the army would first cease to become important and finally degenerate into an untrained mob. The antipathy to foreigners (a corollary of isolation) would inevitably tend to prevent any modernizing of the army, and its gradual degradation would tend to just that contempt for the soldier and his calling which all foreigners have noticed. Isolation is at an end, and self-satisfaction probably cannot survive it for ever; and there will soon be, among European nations, a great competition for the privilege of drilling Chinese soldiers. Mr. Lowry, like most of the other writers of this month's essays on the Chinese crisis, pleads for sympathy with the Chinese in their resentment against foreigners. They have certainly had provocation. "May we not believe," says Mr. Lowry quaintly, "that the highest type of civilization possesses no inherent right to oppress and exterminate weaker nations with which it comes in contact?" We may believe it, oh brother, with reference to China, but not as to the Philippines. Mr. Lowry would have the Powers first insist on the public execution of the leaders in the recent outrages, then "at once and for ever abandon the thought of dismemberment," and then leave the missionaries to go on with their good work of converting the Chinese. But if his general view of the subject is correct, the "foreign devils" who have fomented the policy of dismemberment, and forced on "leases" and "spheres of influence," and the missionaries, who have protected native Chinese rascals against their own Government, on the plea that they were Christians, are almost as responsible for what has happened as Prince Tuan or the Empress Dowager.

—The *Century* has the best collection of Chinese articles, beginning with Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's account of the country of Confucius, "China's Holy Land"—a visit to the tomb of Confucius. Wu Ting Fang, the Minister at Washington, contributes an excellently written "Plea for Fair Treatment," and Sheridan P. Read, formerly United States Consul at Tientsin, a paper on "The Chinese as Business Men," full of valuable information. This number contains the last instalment of John Morley's sumptuously illustrated Life of Cromwell, and contains the author's somewhat hazily expressed estimate of the Protector's character. He shares, it seems, the opinion of Guizot that Cromwell, William III., and Washington must be looked upon "as chief and representative of sovereign crises that have settled the destinies of nations"; but if we go on, and ask what was Cromwell's "special share in a mission so supreme," we find that his dominant power lay in "his military genius," which was certainly not the case with either William III. or Washington. It was Cromwell's "armed right hand" that "crushed the absolutist pretensions alike of crown and mitre," and struck blows for race, state, and liberty which "forced the three kingdoms into a single state." "After we have discussed all the minor aspects of his special policies on this occasion or the other, after we have scanned all the secondary features of his rule, this is still what, in a single sentence, defines the true place of Cromwell in our history." But his work died with him, at least for the time, and he left England so impoverished that Richard Cromwell had to beg Mazarin to lend him fifty thousand pounds; and the Stuarts came back with the Act of Uniformity, the Test Act, the Conventicle Act, the Five-Mile Act, and "the rest of the apparatus of Church privilege and proscription" in their train. These facts lie on the surface. It is significant that Cromwell's latest Liberal biographer emphasizes them. Mr. Morley suggests that Cromwell was a man of the end of the Middle Ages, rather than a leader of the modern movement, though this too does not satisfy us, for the Middle Ages were not Puritanic. Perhaps the descendants of the Puritans in this country, at any rate such as have not become Episcopalians, can best understand what he was. "It can hardly be accident that has turned him into one of the idols of the school who hold, shyly as yet in England, but nakedly in Germany, that might is a token of right, and that the strength and power of the state is an end that tests and justifies all means." The Cavaliers, on coming in again, unanimously voted that it was necessary to teach the Puritans a salutary lesson. They accordingly dug up Cromwell's, Ireton's, and Bradshaw's carcasses, decapitated them, buried their bodies under the gallows, and stuck their heads on poles set up on the spot where Charles I. had been condemned. The same thing is done in China to-day. With neither Puritan nor Cavalier does Mr. Morley really sympathize. Nor do most of us.

—In *Scribner's*, Henry Norman begins a series of papers on the "Russia of To-day," the first instalment of which deals with "The Two Capitals," and is accompanied by illustrations "from the author's photographs and others." Mr. Norman, when he does not set off fireworks or cut capers, is an instructive reporter. In the present instance, after the first page, he practises much self-restraint. He points out that in order to understand the Russia of to-day, we must not overlook the fact that the Russians have ceased to be a mimetic nation; though they do import American engines, they no longer copy Western civilization. To be Russian to-day is to be patriotic, to be Muscovite—not to follow the mode of the outside world, but to wait confidently "till the outside world shall learn that the Russian mode is better, and shall lay aside its heathenism, its parliamentarianism, its socialism, the license it calls liberty, and all its other wickednesses, and walk in the only path of religious truth and social security." In other words, "Russianism" is cultivated by modern Russians just as what the French call "Pan-Britainism" is cultivated in England. The same movement is going on in every leading country in the world, including our own happy land, in which the young thinkers hold that, whatever it may mean, the great object in life is to be "American." The strange part of it is, that no nation thinks well of the movement in any other. The new patriotism has behind it quite a different sentiment from the old "nationality" feeling of fifty years ago, which helped on, for instance, the creation of modern Italy. The old nationality movement was humanitarian, liberal, and sympathetic. We in the United States sympathized with it in Hungary, in Poland, in Italy, in Ireland. One of its latest manifestations (in recrudescence, perhaps) is the sympathy felt in the United States for the Boers. But the new nationality movement, whether in Russia, China, or "Pan-Britain," is essentially local, exclusive, selfish, reactionary, and often oppressive. Mr. Norman confirms the impression which most foreign observers have given, that the germs of modern civilization hardly yet exist in Russia. Not only is it a

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theocracy and a despotism, but there is as yet no middle class (though there are signs of one, owing to the spread of commerce and manufactures); and, as to all questions of government, the Russian mind is in a mediæval state. "Drop into conversation with your neighbor in the railway carriage, and in ten minutes you will be disputing hotly over some purely abstract proposition, connected, nine times out of ten, with the possibility of a perfect social state." In other words, the Russian mind as to government is at least four centuries behind the Western mind. Of the modern "positive" method in such matters, even their best literary men, like Tolstoi (here interviewed), have not a glimmering of an idea.

—It is, according to common remark, unfair to judge a new periodical by its first number; and this may be true of the contents. On the other hand, the first impression of the get-up is very apt to be decisive with the critical, and in a long experience we have found that any serious defect of taste in the scheme of manufacture—paper, types, proportion—is apt to reflect editorial incompetency. Approached from this standpoint, Mr. Murray's new *Monthly Review* is decidedly attractive. It is almost sumptuous in appearance, so generous is the typography, so good the paper. The illustrations, which we were led to expect should be explicatory and not merely ornamental, are precisely so, and are good and sufficiently numerous of their kind. They accompany a paper on "Art before Giotto," first of a series on Early Florentine Painting. Another good feature is, that reliance has not been placed upon names rather than upon substance. The three editorial articles at the beginning—one a weak Jingo discourse on the "Paradox of Imperialism"—are all unsigned. Only three signataries have a general cis-atlantic reputation, viz., A. T. Quiller-Couch, who writes the solitary book-review (rather, a personal sketch of the late Thomas Edward Brown), Spenser Wilkinson ("Puzzles of the [Boer] War"), and Anthony Hope, who begins a novel, "Tristram of Blent." Two of the contributors are women, Mrs. Hugh Bell, whose theme is "The Influence of the Stage," and Miss M. E. Coleridge, who carries to absurdity the open typography that leaves her message ("On Loss of Time") spoken futilely in four pages. There is nothing else so slight as this. "Surgical Experiences in South Africa," "The War Training of Naval Officers," and "Recent Eclipses" are timely topics. One poem, an ode by Henry Newbolt, is entitled "The Nile," and was composed for the inauguration of the Gordon College at Khartum. Such is Mr. Murray's latest venture.

—We are unavoidably late in noticing the admirable concluding volume of Prof. Petit de Julleville's 'Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française' (Paris: A. Colin & Cie.). This treatment of the latter half of the nineteenth century is marked by a general dispassionateness of tone which several chapters in the earlier part of the work had not led us to expect. Such divisions as those on poetry (M. Chantavoine), fiction (M. Pellissier), and criticism (M. Faguet) do the amplest justice to writers whose conceptions of literature and life are radically opposed to those of their respective critics. Throughout the work, however, the compression necessitated by the abundance of matter produces occasional summariness, although the volume contains nine hundred pages; and yet, in spite of this, no group, nor single writer deserving of notice has been slurred over. A very noteworthy feature consists in the introduction of chapters on the contemporary press (M. Léo Claretie), and scientific literature (M. Brunhes), both of which indicate a wider view of the literary field than is common in academic treatises. Readers of the chapter on Mémoires will doubtless be disconcerted on finding that several of Marbot's most telling passages are here shown to have been put together *de chic;* while all students realize with still greater regret the termination of a scholarly career in M. Joseph Texte's last utterances on the literary relations of France with other countries. M. Brunot's contribution on Linguistics shows equal fulness and detail with his earlier work, and holds, in the matter of purity, the *via media* between conservative classicism and the more modern tendency towards uncritical innovation. A brief conclusion by the editor, though somewhat gloomy and pessimistic in its literary outlook on the future, worthily completes this monument, which remains as the joint product of perhaps the most carefully selected literary association of our time.

JACKSON'S MARTINEAU.

James Martineau: A Biography and Study. By A. W. Jackson, A.M. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1900.

The months that have elapsed since Dr. Martineau's death have produced many serious comments on his life and work, but nothing comparable with Mr. Jackson's elaborate biography. There is here none of the rashness of the obituarist paying an extemporaneous tribute to departed worth. Mr. Jackson's book was written while Dr. Martineau was still living, and with his friendly counsel and assistance in an eminent degree. It has engaged Mr. Jackson's careful thought for several years, and, as completed, it justifies his laborious preparation. It is not the final Life of Martineau. It is easy to conceive one written on a very different plan that will be more engaging than this for the general reader: a Life that will draw freely upon his correspondence, which, we have reason to believe, was very full and rich. But it is not easy to conceive a Life that will furnish a more careful and accurate appreciation than we have here of Martineau's philosophical and religious thought, exclusive of its ethical content (Mr. Jackson's publishers having advised the omission of "a lengthy and toilsome discussion of the 'Types of Ethical Theory'"). Even as thus doubtfully abridged, the book makes its principal appeal to the more intelligent and better-instructed class of readers. It is, as it is called upon the title-page, "a biography and study," and it is much more a study than it is a biography. Martineau's life had but little of outward variety to serve as biographical material, and Mr. Jackson has not "gone for that little." Even Book I., "The Man," pp. 1-141, is dominated by the critical temper, which finds larger scope in Book II., "The Religious Teacher," and Book III., "The Philosopher of Religion." What we have throughout is an acute and sympathetic appreciation of a great thinker's mind; not the details of an eventful personal experience.

Nevertheless, we have a clear and interesting account of Martineau's ancestry, family, and early home; his education, and his ministry, first in Dublin, and afterwards in Liverpool and London; his earlier and later publications, with a chapter devoted to his intellectual characteristics, and another of "Personal Features." The Huguenot descent declared itself in the seriousness of his religious temper and in his Gallic aptitude for exact expression. A mistaken idea has prevailed that his father was a wine merchant. He was a manufacturer of bombazine goods for the Spanish market, and presents of wine that he received from his customers gave his table and cellar a local reputation. Mrs. Fenwick Miller's Life of Harriet Martineau (1884) contained a gross assault upon the mother's character, and Mr. Jackson would, we think, have done well to reproduce the public letters which that assault elicited from Martineau in defence of his mother's character. Clearly, James's recollections of her were much pleasanter than Harriet's. Norwich seems to have been no mean city for a boy to grow up in. It was a place of considerable intellectual and literary importance. The boy's paternity of the coming man will pretty surely be detected in his answer to his mother's doubt as to his having read all of Isaiah while she was at church. "I have skipped the nonsense," he explained. In 1845 he wrote an extremely candid sermon on the unfitness of the Bible in its entirety for children's uses.

Mr. Jackson's account of his education is mainly a careful characterization of his teachers, Dr. Lant Carpenter at Bristol and Dr. John Kenrick and William Wellbeloved in Manchester New College. His father would have made an engineer of him, and a year in the machine-shop at Derby was not wasted time. There are traces of its influence in his maturest work—in metaphors and similes shaped upon the principles of mechanical construction. At the end of his theological course Martineau went back to Bristol as a teacher in Dr. Carpenter's school, and a year later became assistant pastor of a Dublin Unitarian Presbyterian Church: Unitarian in its doctrine, Presbyterian in its form of organization, as were the majority of early Unitarian societies in Great Britain. Nothing in this office became him so much as his leaving it because he could not accept the *regium donum* of £100, a relic of the second Charles's gracious overtures to Irish Presbyterians. Many good men accepted it without compunction. So could not Martineau, and he went out, like the patriarch, not knowing whither; in the event to Liverpool. There his 'Rationale of Religious Inquiry' (1836) showed a considerable advance on the opinions with which he set out in 1828; it was an appeal to reason as the ultimate test of all churches and Scriptures. The main incident, however, of his Liverpool ministry was the once famous Liverpool controversy, in which Martineau, with John H. Thom and the brilliant but eccentric Henry Giles, went out to meet thirteen protagonists of orthodoxy on their own chosen ground in a series of public lectures. It is significant that Martineau's lectures in this series are still valued highly by the best judges of his work. Mr. Jackson makes a painful exhibition of the

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ecclesiastical billingsgate which the orthodox party showered on their opponents, and, if these always spoke the truth in love, they did not deny themselves the felicity of getting in a morsel of biting satire here and there.

In 1848-9, fifteen months in Germany did much to confirm a tendency which for some time had been sweeping Martineau away from the materialistic philosophy and the necessarian ethics of his earlier course. John Stuart Mill had noticed the beginning of this tendency as far back as 1840, when Martineau entered on that professional connection with Manchester New College which he maintained until 1885. In 1857 he was invited to come up to London and give all his time to the college. A vigorous protest was made by the more conservative Unitarians, but without avail. In the event his pulpit work was not abandoned, but resumed in association with Dr. Tayler, the head of the college, in Little Portland Street Chapel, the scene of his most memorable experiences as a preacher. Dr. Tayler died in 1869, and then Martineau took sole charge of the chapel and became principal of the college.

All of Martineau's publications are indicated by his biographer in the order of their appearance and generally characterized with vivid strokes. But the study of Spinoza, in which Martineau's anti-pantheism reached its most acute expression, is barely touched, and there are some more absolute omissions, as of his "Slave Empire of the West" (1857), which might have been written by his sister Harriet from her clearest anti-slavery mind. We are simply told that during the Great War his sympathies were with the South—a statement that should have been qualified by extracts from such letters as those he wrote to Dr. J. H. Allen, W. H. Furness, and other American friends. Martineau's unhappy alienation from his sister Harriet is treated frankly, but without exaggerated emphasis. It had gone far, it seems, before the Atkinson episode. James having declined to give back her early letters, she had ceased writing to him. When her correspondence with Atkinson was published, and Martineau reviewed it as "Mesmeric Atheism" in the *Prospective Review*, there was inevitably a wider breach. Mr. Jackson says, referring to this review, "Of his sister he spoke most gently"; but, if he had printed the obnoxious passage, few of his readers would have agreed with him.

The mental portrait called "His Intellect" is painted carefully and makes an effective presentment. We must dissent from the judgment that Theodore Parker's learning was an impediment. He had more than he could use, but he used great stores of it impressively, and all of it together qualified his habitual thought with such breadth as it could not otherwise have acquired. It is an interesting fact that Martineau found more to admire in Parker than in Emerson. Probably he was repelled by Emerson's lack of logical procedure. Martineau's style is warmly praised, but with some proper abatement on account of its profusion of metaphor, tending to dazzle the reader more than to illuminate his path. That, "like Emerson," he is strong in memorable sentences, we are obliged to doubt. He is much stronger in beautiful passages. The "Personal Features" are rendered with becoming delicacy and reserve. A simplicity bordering upon severity seems to have been the habit of his life, but (we have read elsewhere) with a mental reservation in favor of a splendid purple broadcloth fur-lined robe sweeping about him, in which, in cold weather, he used to appear before his students in the class-room of the college.

Coming to "The Preacher," Mr. Jackson tells of a student who asked his professor in homiletics about Martineau as a model of sermon-style, and was answered, "The worst in the world." Possibly as a model, he would be so hard to copy; yet justifying himself abundantly in the exercise of his peculiar gift. The object of his preaching was not so much to teach men *about* God as to help them to live *with* him, and his sermons tended to the form of meditations on divine things which those who would might overhear. "The Christian Theologian" is a much less elusive subject than "The Preacher," and it is handled with complete understanding of the gradual evolution and the last results of Martineau's theological activity. The basis of this chapter is the 'Seat of Authority in Religion,' which was distinctly less pleasing to the conservative mind than the 'Types of Ethical Theory' and the 'Study of Religion'; but Mr. Jackson is not disposed to abate anything from its comparative significance, and if he had given to it the highest rank, he would have made no mistake. In this connection we have a careful exhibition of the sense in which Dr. Martineau was and was not a Unitarian. He was a Unitarian in his individual belief, but he did not allow that any theological belief should be made a basis of religious unity. He would belong to a Unitarian *Society;* not to a Unitarian *Church.*

Mr. Jackson's chapter on Martineau as a New Testament critic is a masterpiece of critical exposition. It is entirely sympathetic with Martineau's Tübingen position, slightly modified from that of F. C. Baur, denying the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, and finding in the Apocalypse a Jewish document of 69 A. D., made over into a Christian one a few years further on. But the cynosure of this chapter is that part relating to Martineau's opinion that Jesus did not regard himself as the Messiah. Mr. Jackson tells us that he was himself at first quite opposed to this opinion, but that on closer examination he was convinced of its validity. What is certain is that he argues it with even more persuasiveness than Martineau, unless our memory does the latter wrong. What hinders our assent is a suspicion that both master and pupil are too much disposed to conform the historical Jesus to an ideal of their own fashioning. In his concluding chapters, which have for their general title "The Philosopher of Religion," Mr. Jackson reminds us of the mountain climber who becomes more vigorous as he ascends. Nowhere else is his subject so difficult, and nowhere else is he so easily at home. It will hardly be regretted that, in the ardor of his exposition, he sometimes mingles his own thought inextricably with that of his teacher. The special subjects are "Knowledge," "God and Cosmos," "God and Conscience," "Criticism of Pantheism," "Freedom and Immortality." Careful as Mr. Jackson is to give the opposing views, we find ourselves often wishing that we could have these presented by some one heartily accepting them. Nothing, for example, is more fundamental to Martineau's doctrine of the Infinite Will than his development of it from our own "sense of effort." But so close a thinker as Dr. C. C. Everett, whose general admiration of Martineau is immense, reminds us that the new psychology has set aside the "sense of effort" as an illusion, and that this has cut away the ground of Martineau's main contention under his feet. But whether or not we are always on the right track with Martineau and his companion, we are always treading viewsome heights and breathing an invigorating air. To know that he had one such student and interpreter as Mr. Jackson must have been to Martineau one of the purest satisfactions of his declining years.

College Administration. By Charles F. Thwing, LL.D., President of Western Reserve University and Adelbert College. The Century Co.

"This is, I think, the first book published on the administration of the American college," says President Thwing in his Prefatory Note. If that be true, then it must be said that a new field of book literature has been very auspiciously opened. A decade of service has placed Dr. Thwing high in the ranks of able and successful college presidents, and he has written sanely and strongly the results of his own experience and observation.

A thought stated in the first chapter permeates the whole volume, and this is that all plans for educational development should rise from and centre about the being of the pupil. The college, or any other feature of educational organization, is not an end in itself, but a means to be used for the highest good of the pupil, and of society through the pupil. Let us see how this principle works out in its application, for instance, to the mooted question of hastening the pupil's entrance into such professions as medicine and the law: "It is far better for the practitioner and also for the community to make the service abler and wiser than to make it longer." President Thwing is convinced, however, that an earlier entrance into life is possible, but the battle for it "is to be fought on the floor of the grammar and primary schoolroom" and not on the college campus. Specifically, he points out arithmetic as a branch upon which the time of very young children is unwisely wasted. Its operations appear arbitrary, not rational, to the child's mind; leave it until the age of ten, and then two years will be time enough in which to accomplish with ease and efficiency all that is necessary. Of course, the saving of a year or two in the primary and grammar grades means better trained teachers, but our author finds tangible evidence of hopeful progress in this direction.

Recent sensational events in the educational world, and the published expressions called forth thereby, naturally direct one's attention to the chapters on the Constitution of the American College, and the College President. Dr. Thwing is not among those college presidents who look upon enlarged official power as the best road to administrative success. "Autocratic, monarchical government in the college undoubtedly secures the richest results, provided the monarch has perfect wisdom and goodness, as well as absolute power. But such wisdom and goodness and power are seldom found, even in the college! There-

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fore, the method of the master is not to be followed in the college." Concerning nominations to professorships, he maintains without question the superiority of the method by which the name goes to the Governing Board only after the faculty has been fully consulted and its official approval secured. "A college faculty would seldom be willing to call a new member into itself without the express approval of the president. It is also true that no worthy president should be willing to bear a nomination to the Board of Trust without the approval of the faculty." This method, in his opinion, awakens and maintains enthusiasm, and tends to promote in the various members of the faculty a sense of individual responsibility, which it is very desirable that they should feel. All this is so thoroughly sensible, so completely in accord with the known facts of human nature, that one wonders why so many colleges suffer their efficiency to be lessened and their reputations injured by the friction and discontent to which the opposite practice inevitably tends. Dr. Thwing quotes with approval from a private letter of ex-President Dwight of Yale the suggestion that college presidents generally have too much power. "Coöperation and devotion" are his words for the proper relation between president and faculty; not *authority* and *obedience*.

Since our author came from the ranks of the clergy himself, it is interesting to find that he recognizes with no regret the decline of the old-time clerical predominance in college management. Yet he has no fault to find with it in the past. It grew naturally out of conditions then obtaining, and is naturally passing away now that the conditions have changed. Lawyers and merchants are taking the places of clergymen on the Boards of Trust because the material development of the college constantly increases the number of problems with which lawyers and merchants are most competent to deal. For the teaching force, too, the men best trained for the work demanded are now to be found largely outside the clerical profession. And in both these lines the college can now command outside that profession the services of men who, in moral character and influence, stand fully as high as the clergymen themselves. Therefore, "the day of the clergyman active as a clergyman in the management of the American college is passing away. All that the clergyman represents as a Christian, as a moralist, as a scholar, as a philanthropist, of course, has not passed away and cannot pass away."

President Thwing is of course in harmony—all educators are now in harmony—with the general principle of student election in making up the course of study. He does not share, however, the apparent superstition of some that mere freedom of choice has power in itself to insure the best choice. By a careful study of recent statistics from Harvard University he shows that the average choice of the students represented has some very good features: "Harvard College, like every American college, is graduating men of richer attainments than the college of the earlier time. The graduate approaches nearer the type of the gentleman of culture. Knowledge is more affluent; the appreciation of the best more adequate and more common." But, on the other hand, "The college is making scholars rather than thinkers. It is good to make a scholar; it is better to make a thinker. American life needs scholars much; American life needs thinkers more." And on another page: "The American community is, on the whole, honest, and the American community is, on the whole, intelligent, but the American community cannot think." To secure from the college its share in the work of amelioration, "Two things may at least be said: first, far greater care should be exercised in the choice of teachers in order to secure those who are able to train thinkers; and, secondly, proper urging should be given to men, on the part of advisers and counsellors, to take severer and more thought-provoking courses." President Thwing's position is, then, that the power of election should exist untrammelled by any mandatory interference, but should be exercised under the influence of friendly advice. No doubt such a programme will suit the average parent, anxious for good results, far better than election absolutely without guidance.

We have touched but a few of the important points discussed. The relation between the faculty and the governing board, the investment of permanent funds, the freedom of teaching, the proper attitude toward fraternities, the inadequate equipment for medical and legal education in America, exemption of college property from taxation, and various other questions are sensibly and suggestively considered. If one closes the book with the feeling that there is any important omission, this will certainly be the subject of intercollegiate athletics. It would be easy to show that this is a subject touching sharply upon almost every other phase of college life. It is the subject which brings the college before the people in the daily press more often than all others combined. We can hardly believe that Western Reserve University has been so happily unique in its experience as not to have met with any serious problems in this branch of administration. If so, there are college faculties all over the land which would be delighted to sit at the feet of its President long enough to learn how smooth a path over the intercollegiate athletic field of the past ten years was discovered.

This book, the author tells us, "makes its special appeal to a small constituency." Faculties and trustees are doubtless in mind, but among the large body of college alumni it ought certainly to find a ready sale. Surely no man who has ever been a college student could read it without a keen interest. As a guide to intelligent giving, it ought also to find its place on the tables of men of wealth who are looking for suitable fields for philanthropic effort.

A Brief History of Mathematics: An Authorized Translation of Dr. Karl Fink's Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik. By Wooster Woodruff Beman and David Eugene Smith. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 1900. 8vo, pp. 333.

The original of this work enjoys the sort of reputation that the approval of students in German universities can confer. Whatever that may be worth, it may probably show that readers similarly situated in this country, wanting some information about the history of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, provided it be compressed and generalized, may find this translation will answer their purpose; although there is a good deal about old German books of no importance which had better have been replaced by notices of English writings that really had something to do with the development of mathematics, such as those of Shirewood, Bradwardin, Tonstall, Sacrobosco, Dee, Recorde, Digges, Oughtred, Blundevill, etc. Those readers who do not approve of an historian's wasting time in trying to make out how one event led to another, will find less of that sort of thing in this volume than in anything called a history that can easily be brought to mind. Those who are curious to know in what the mathematical interest and value of any works of mathematicians of the past really consisted, must, of course, seek their information elsewhere than in this little manual.

Its admirers praise its "breadth," and in truth it carries this quality to a high pitch—so high that the reader may oftentimes gather quite a false notion, until he becomes accustomed to the way in which Dr. Fink, in common with many another German professor, uses language, after which the same sentences will convey no notion at all. For instance, we read: "The earliest writer giving us information on the arithmetic of the Arabs is Al-Khowarazmi. The borrowing from Hindu arithmetic stands out very clearly." Now, considering that that writer was no "Arab," nor even an Arabian, but a foreigner called from Chorasmia because, within two centuries from the Hejra, the wild tribe of Mohammed had become possessed of such treasures that some sort of accounts had to be kept, and Chorasmia was the country where the art of computation had been most perfected; and considering that what was set forth in his treatise was substantially all the arithmetic the Arabians ever had—to speak of that work as giving us information about "the arithmetic of the Arabs," if it conveys any definite idea, is likely to convey a wrong one. So it is with the sentence that follows. It is true that Brahmagupta represents an earlier stage of development of the same arithmetical art as Al-Khowarazmi; and so does Bhaskara, although he wrote long afterward. But instead of there being any clear borrowing from the Hindus, many facts lead to a strong suspicion that it was in Bactria or some country north of India that the art in question originated and developed. Again, speaking of the celebrated mathematical papyrus, which we now know goes back in substance, as it professes to do, to the Tenth Egyptian dynasty, Dr. Fink says, "as the measure of the area of the isosceles triangle with base a and side b, . . . $\frac{1}{2}\,ab$ is found, and for the area of [etc.]. These approximate formulæ are used throughout and are evidently considered perfectly correct. The area of the circle follows, with the exceptionally accurate value $\pi = (\frac{16}{9})^2 = 3.1605$." Now, anybody not acquainted with the German professorial style of expression would suppose that the papyrus contained something about an isosceles triangle; but it is not so. There is a figure of a triangular field of which two sides are marked as 4 "che" and 10 "che," intended perhaps for 400 and 1,000 cubits. The figure is not badly drawn, for the shorter marked side is very near 0.4 the longer one, perhaps 0.408 or 0.409. Being so accurate in that respect, it

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can hardly have been intended to be isosceles, for the angles at the base differ by about 11°, being 84° and 73°. Multiplying half the base by the side inclined to it by 84° after all made an insignificant error, less than half of one per cent. What is that in the value of a piece of land, presumably agricultural? It is not enough to dig a grave on. Now there was nothing theoretical about the Egyptian of the Tenth Dynasty. A Cincinnati pork-packer could not have a greater contempt for small quantities. He measured his field in a common-sense way. So, likewise, the Egyptian says nothing about the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, but calculates the area of a circular field by squaring 8-9 of its diameter, which is not a very awkward way of getting a 1 per cent. approximation. What Dr. Fink means by calling 3.1605 an exceptionally accurate value for π must remain a secret, for few of the vast number of evaluations that have been published have been so far from the truth; and if a comparison with equally ancient evaluations is intended, there can be nothing exceptional where there are not instances enough to base a rule upon.

The same sort of "breadth" pervades the modern parts of the book. Thus, on p. 250, we read that "the results of Desargues were more important for theory than for practice. More valuable results were secured by Taylor with a 'linear perspective' (1715)." One would hardly guess from this that Desargues applied his method to stone-cutting quite in the style of Monge, while Brook Taylor's mathematically admirable work (why is its title not printed with capital initials and in italics instead of so as to suggest some optical instrument rather than a book?) involved no application except to drawing. On p. 131, after several pages devoted to the writings of the great Grassmann and to others closely related to his, mention is made of 'Grassman's Formenlehre,' with no hint that this book, in which a microscope could hardly detect any originality, was by quite another Grassmann. Remarkable English and American contributions to the same branch of mathematics are passed by in silence. The editors ought not to have permitted this. About tables, no notice is taken of the valuable 8-place French logarithmic tables, nor of Mansion's and other tables for finding 12-place logarithms and their anti-logariths; and, if our memory does not play us false, the statement about Dase conveys a false impression, his name alone being on the title-page of an assigned part of the great factor table, which the book seems to say he did not calculate. The circumstance that he was insane all the time he was making the calculations is interesting enough to insure its not being mentioned by Fink.

There is, to be sure, a conclusive reply to all such criticisms. It is simply that the book is neither intended nor adapted for the use of persons who care particularly to have their information minutely accurate. Readers for whom "breadth" will cover pretty much all other sins, will find it to their taste. There is a good deal of human interest in the history of mathematics; but all such unscientific stuff has been ruthlessly excised by Dr. Fink, no matter what its significance might be for the development of mathematics. So, those who found fault with Cajori's book for being too entertaining ought to find this one perfectly unexceptionable in that respect.

The translation is excessively literal, in many places too much so to convey the precise meaning of the author. We do not doubt that the accomplished mathematicians who have executed it have in many places improved upon the original, in point of accuracy. They seem to us, however, to have committed a grave mistake in changing the title, albeit they give notice of having done so on their title-page. They justify their step by saying that the author in many places strays so far beyond the bounds of the elements that "the original title is misleading." That may be, but what of it? Is this the logic of modern mathematicians? Because the book is very badly laid out for a history of elementary mathematics, does it necessarily follow that it must be well describable as a history of mathematics in general? Perhaps there is nothing about which the sort of readers to whom the book will most appeal wish more to be informed than the origin and early history of the differential calculus, probably the most important of all those events concerning which the history of mathematics can afford us any satisfactory account. To call a book, however brief, a history of mathematics, without a fuller narrative of that revolution than this book gives, seems a terrible compromise. It was a good idea to append an alphabetical list of mathematicians with brief notices of them, had it only been longer; and as it is, to look it over and see who is in it and who is not in it, will supply a little of the amusement which the body of the work sternly refuses to bend to. There is a satisfactory index.

On the whole, the volume will probably prove one of the most useful of the meritorious series to which it belongs; although, had the translators been willing to take the trouble to produce a history of their own, they would have earned a larger measure of gratitude from American readers.

The Antarctic Regions. By Dr. Karl Fricker. The Macmillan Co. 1900. 8vo, pp. xii, 292. Plates and maps.

The interest in the Antarctic which has of late years been stimulated by the persistent efforts of Murray and Neumayer, has taken definite shape in several schemes of exploration, some of which have recently terminated, while the more important ones are at the point of organization. It was appropriate, therefore, that an effort should be made to gather in one volume the facts about the Antarctic region hitherto scattered in numerous records of exploration, many of which are difficult of access for the ordinary reader. Dr. Fricker's work was intended to offer a condensation of all that is essential from the various explorations, both as regards the history of discovery in the Antarctic, and the geological and geographical facts, in a broad sense, which have been collected by the various expeditions. The translation from the German has been well done by Mr. A. Sonnenschein, and the illustrations were reproduced from the originals, chiefly in Dumont d'Urville's 'Atlas Pittoresque,' but also including some original, hitherto unpublished, sketches of icebergs, made on the *Challenger* expedition, and kindly furnished by Sir John Murray. The history of discovery occupies about one hundred pages, and somewhat more space is given to a minute description of each locality of which anything is known, drawn from all available sources. The climate, the ice, the fauna, and flora are successively taken up, and followed by a short chapter on the future of Antarctic discovery, more particularly addressed to German readers, and a bibliography of the more important literature and maps; with a good index to the whole work.

The compilation has been done in a solid, German fashion, which inspires confidence in its fulness and accuracy, and with a praiseworthy impartiality, not altogether easy in a field where international emulation at one time was very keen. The local descriptions, faithfully made, are rather dry reading, except for those especially interested in the region; for them, this part of the work will be valuable for reference. Throughout, the paucity of our knowledge of any part of the area concerned is the most striking feature of the compilation. The chapter on the climate is interesting and fresh, while that on the ice will convey to the average reader a strong impression of the discrepancies between the conditions of the Arctic and Antarctic regions.

The chapter on the fauna and flora is the least satisfactory of any, this being a subject with which the author is unfamiliar. Much of interest might have been added to it by a synopsis of the recent discussion, in which Hedley, Gregory, and others have taken part, based on the known distribution of animals in Australasia and South America. This has shown a valid basis for an hypothesis of a former greater land area in Antarctica, and a probable connection between the continents at a time when conditions favorable to animal life prevailed where now all is desolation. The little that is known reveals the presence in the South Polar region of land, or a congeries of islands, covered with a deep mantle of unbroken ice, near the periphery of which a few nunataks and volcanic cones barely thrust their summits above the surface. By the breaking off of the ice, here and there, a ragged cliff is revealed or a spit of glacial gravel is laid bare. The snowy slopes near the volcanic vents are sometimes sullied by a rain of cinders. Otherwise all is white, still, and frigid. There are no land animals or birds, no plants but a few mosses or lichens. Seals frequent the bays, finback whales, useless for oil or baleen, occasionally traverse the passages between the floes, and penguins abound on the more level ice near the water.

The relatively even and uniform character of the land thus buried in eternal ice is indicated by the very remarkable uniformity of the square-cut table-like bergs which are released from the margin of the ice sheet, and of the ice cliffs which the bergs leave behind them, towering as an impregnable wall without break or modification, in some cases for hundreds of miles. The structure of the ice is such that, in melting, the bergs preserve more or less of this level uniformity, contrasting strongly with those which are thrown off from the Arctic shores of Greenland.

The character of uniformity is not confined to the bergs. Excepting a few projections stretching out toward the most adjacent continental lands, the periphery of this

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world of barren rock and ice approximates in an extraordinary manner to the line of the antarctic circle. The isotherms and isobars form a concentric series with hardly more irregularity than would be shown in the cross-section of an onion. That no exceptionally elevated land-masses exist within the charmed circle is thus rendered probable. The explorer is likely to find, in the interior, conditions not unlike those recorded by Peary during his journey over the inland ice of Greenland. But no oases of turf, herds of musk oxen, or other sources of refreshment for the wanderer may he dare to hope for. For a better knowledge of the physics of the globe, the climate, and the features of terrestrial magnetism, it is desirable that these wastes be explored. But there can be no doubt, not only that the exploration will be attended by greater difficulty, mental strain and danger, than in the north, but also that in every element of interest, except that of the daily physical and magnetic observations, the work will prove to be deficient beyond anything hitherto experienced in the history of exploration.

Politics and Administration. A Study in Government. By Frank J. Goodnow. Macmillan. 1900. Pp. xiii, 270.

Professor Goodnow's book is a serious—we fear most readers will think it a too serious—attempt to discriminate between the administrative and the political sides of government, and to show, in particular, the proper sphere of politics. Those who are familiar with the author's other writings will know that he is inclined to state his case in abstract terms, and with uneasy literary expression, and that the notion of the state as an "organism," with a "consciousness" and "will" of its own, underlies much of his reasoning. The particular subject of the book, however, is one to which English works on political science have thus far given little attention, and Professor Goodnow's practical suggestions, following his delimitation of the function of politics in a scheme of government, merit consideration.

The starting-point of our author's reflections is the familiar fact that the actual processes of government, as we find them carried on about us from day to day, do not always correspond with the formal statements of what those processes are intended to be. The Constitution is one thing, the practical working of it, often, quite another. For example, the classification of powers as executive, legislative, and judicial embodies a political doctrine firmly embedded in the constitutional theory of England and America, and regarded in both countries as fundamental, yet in practice it is subject to radical modification. The choice of the President in the United States, and the functions of the Crown and the Ministry in England, are other familiar illustrations of the difference between the actual and the nominal Constitution. The reason for this apparent anomaly—an anomaly the clear perception of which has made the works of such writers as Gneist and Bryce preëminently useful—Professor Goodnow finds in the existence, in government, of two distinct functions, whose differentiation of sphere compels a corresponding, though less complete, differentiation in the organs of government provided by the formal governmental system. These functions he treats under the names of politics and administration. "Politics has to do with policies or expressions of the state will. Administration has to do with the execution of these policies."

We can do no more than outline the plan of Professor Goodnow's book beyond this point. His consideration of politics as having to do with the expression and execution of the "will" of the state leads him to a discussion of the electoral machinery, and such attempts at regulation as are presented in State ballot laws, while the consideration of the function of administration involves a discussion of centralization. The tendency to administrative centralization in this country the author regards as irresistible, and, on the whole, advantageous. The dangers of centralization are to be obviated, in large measure, by such a reconstruction of the public service as will take administrative offices out of politics, and make their tenure permanent.

In Professor Goodnow's view, the American system of government, while responsible in theory, is not so in fact. In other words, we do not have in reality popular government. The modifying force is the political party, which is not itself responsible. The share which the party shall take in the political life of the country is determined mainly by the degree of centralization, being greatest where centralization is least. In a popular government, however, there is need of a strong party system to hold things together and insure administrative effectiveness. The same need of firm and systematic control produces the boss. It is not the boss *per se*, but the irresponsible and corrupt boss of actual life, whom Professor Goodnow regards as dangerous. The boss system as such is a normal accompaniment of the growth of centralization; and the remedy for its evils, as well as the safety of popular institutions, lies in securing the responsibility of the boss by making the party also responsible.

The irresponsibility of the party arises not only from the large amount of political work which it has to do, but also from its peculiar legal position. Following the general rule that political questions are not proper subjects for judicial determination, the courts have usually declined to take judicial cognizance of party action as such, regarding the party decisions as final. They are averse to considering questions of party membership or enrolment, or to reviewing a count of votes. As a result, the party member has but a small degree of legal protection, and the tendency to a control of the party by a few leaders is enhanced. As remedies for the evil, Professor Goodnow advocates official enrolment of party members, governmental control of primaries as well as of elections, the secret ballot, and nomination by petition and direct vote.

If the remedy for our political ills is to be found in the increase of administrative centralization, and increased legal recognition of the party and insistence upon its responsibility, it is obvious that something like the cabinet system of government is the goal towards which political progress must be directed; and Professor Goodnow, while repudiating any idea of wholesale or detailed copying, does not hesitate to indicate the outcome of his reasoning. How far the scheme of a responsible ministry, admitting its desirability, could be worked into the structure of our government without violent and revolutionary changes, is a subject on which Professor Goodnow's pages do not shed much light; nor will it be universally conceded, we fancy, that the ministerial type is quite inevitable, after all. Undoubtedly, however, the study of the practical workings of party machinery, and the effect of the party system upon the constitutional structure, is of supreme importance at the present time. The widespread tendency to view with indifference infractions of the spirit of the Constitution unquestionably points to a popular feeling that the Constitution is no longer the authoritative measure of political action it was once thought to be. To those who feel concern for the ultimate effect of political changes taking place everywhere among us, a careful reading of Professor Goodnow's book may with confidence be recommended.

The Nervous System of the Child. By Francis Warner, M.D. Macmillan. 1900. Pp. 233.

The object of this book is to induce persons concerned in the education of children, parents, teachers, and physicians, to observe them and study out the significance of what they observe, so as to surround the children, to the best of their ability, with such influences as will encourage a proper development of the brain, and to adapt their methods of training to the true conditions of the child and their own aims for his welfare. Persons who have not made such studies as this for themselves to a greater or less extent, are amazed when they find how much may be learned by them.

In this book Dr. Warner adds another contribution to his valuable writings on children. We learn what is going on in the brain only through the medium of movements of the muscles (Dr. Warner does not go into the question of telepathy), whether perceived as movements simply, or heard as sounds when the movement results in speaking or crying. In the movements of the infant the predominant quality is spontaneity; the movements are abundant but ill-directed and irregular, showing little or no complexity of brain work. The new-born infant exhibits almost no impressionability except to heat, cold, and hunger; but in the first few months impressionability should rapidly develop, while inhibition of these irregular movements is soon observed, and brain processes become more complicated. Especially in early ages any impression, such as a sound or movement, gives rise to a period of silence during which the process of thinking takes place, after which comes the resulting muscular contraction. This interesting phenomenon is observed less and less as the brain becomes more experienced. At first, movements are simple, but they become more and more complicated as new nerve paths are developed in the brain and a better and better coördination is obtained. The various senses become more and more competent, and Dr. Warner rightly emphasizes the fact that not enough attention is usually attracted to the great importance of muscle sense, whether used by the eye or the hand, for determining size and dimensions or weight and force.

Development comes largely through im-

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tation of others and of one's self. A child does something because he sees some one else do it, or because he has done something like it before. Only afterwards does he go to work to study and understand what he has done. The influence of environment is therefore of great importance.

The manner in which different children may be variously influenced by the same stimulus, according to their previous development and training, is suggestively given by the following account of the different ways in which boys may be affected by the sound of the bell at school time:

"Impressionability is seen together with coördinated action as the boys put their tops into their pockets and run indoors. Some of the boys, however, look up to see if the master is coming, and then go on with their play; here the first impression is followed by action, while the second impression removes the stimulus of the first. Other boys get off to a corner of the playground where they may not be seen. This is a kind of coördinated action that should not take place. Some children simply stand still and do nothing when they hear the bell; the impression produces inhibition only. A deaf boy continues to spin his top as before; he does not hear the bell. One boy makes grimaces, stamps on the ground, throws down his top, picks it up again, drops it into his pocket, and finally goes into school; the impression by sound leads to extra movements with a spreading area of brain activity followed by coördinated action."

All about Dogs. A Book for Doggy People. By Charles Henry Lane, Breeder, Exhibitor, Judge. With eighty-seven illustrations of the most celebrated Champions of our time. Drawn from life by R. H. Moore. John Lane. 1900. Large 8vo, pp. 400.

People who like dogs will like this book; it is the utterance of one who speaks with authority and unction on a subject with which he is fully identified. Long experience in raising, training, exhibiting, and judging give Mr. Lane's opinions so much weight that he will undoubtedly be ranked as a classic by those for whom he writes. And of a certainty he will seriously object to the ordering of things for his happiness in a future world if dogs be not allowed there. The work is done by an Englishman for Englishmen; it deals with few of the New World types, Eskimo, Newfoundland, and Boston Terrier, yet there is no reason why it should not meet with warm approval on this side of the Atlantic, English setting and style not being generally regarded with disfavor, without mentioning that in his career as a judge the author has had the honor of judging dogs for all the royal family, her Majesty, the Princesses, and the Prince, which in some quarters will enhance the attractiveness, of course. The races worthy of a place here are carefully selected; only the more aristocratic dogs look out upon us from these pages. They are gathered by an amateur, a dog-fancier, not a scientist, but an expert in his line, and thorough enough within his limits. The points of the different breeds are set out in excellent order. Any one may improve his ideas of the best of dogs by means of the clean and animated descriptions, the exhibition gossip, the entertaining stories, and the numerous fine illustrations—all so filled with interest as to dissipate the disagreeable memories frequently associated with our friends the dogs—the whining, the yelping, the snarling, the fighting, and the smells of the dog-show or the kennels. Less dogginess and loudness on cover and title-page would diminish the opportunities for criticism of this very fair example of the book-maker's art.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Altsheler, J. A. In Hostile Red. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.50.
Baum, L. F. A New Wonderland. Pictures by Frank Verbeck. R. H. Russell. $1.50.
Black, Alexander. The Girl and the Guardsman. Scribners. $1.50.
Carey, Rosa N. Rue with a Difference. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Clodd, Edward. The Story of the Alphabet. D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.
Conwell, J. A. Our Nation's Need. J. S. Ogilvie Pub. Co. $1.
Defoe, Daniel. Robinson Crusoe. Decorations by the Brothers Rhead. R. H. Russell.
Du Chaillu, Paul. The World of the Great Forest. Scribners. $2.
Elizabeth and her German Garden. New ed. Macmillan. 50 cents.
English Classics. Star Series: Silas Marner; The Princess; L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, and Lycidas; Ivanhoe. Last of the Mohicans. Merchant of Venice. Macbeth. Speech on Conciliation with America. Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Vicar of Wakefield. Globe School Book Co.
Fuller, Mrs. Marcus B. The Wrongs of Indian Womanhood. Fleming H. Revell Co. $1.25.
Gardner, E. G. The Story of Florence. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $1.75.
Gollancz, Israel. The Works of Shakespeare, Vol. 12. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan.
Hearn, Lafcadio. Shadowings. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $2.
Henderson, C. H., and Woodhull, J. F. Elements of Physics. D. Appleton & Co. $1.20.
Henry, Arthur. A Princess of Arcady. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.50.
Hirtzel, F. A. P. Vergili Maronis Opera. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Henry Frowde. 3s.
Hobbes, John Oliver. Robert Orange. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
Howard, Joseph, jr. The Union League Club: Historical and Biographical. J. J. Wohltman.
Humphrey, Mabel and Maud. Children of the Revolution. Frederick A. Stokes Co.
Irving, Washington. The Sketch-Book. (Pocket English Classics.) Macmillan. 25 cents.
Irving, Washington. Knickerbocker's History of New York. Vol. I. (Cassell's National Library.) Cassell & Co. 10 cents.
Johnson, Clifton. Along French Byways. Macmillan. $2.25.
Johnson, Samuel. Rasselas: Prince of Abyssinia. [The Gem Classics.] James Pott & Co. $1.
Kendall, Elizabeth K. Source-Book of English History. Macmillan. 80 cents.
Lee, Guy Carleton. The World's Orators, Vols. 3, 5, and 6. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Leighton, M. C. and R. Convict 99: A True Story of Penal Servitude. Brentano. $1.25.
Lever, C. Song of a Vagabond Huntsman. R. H. Russell.
Livermore, T. L. Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Lloyd, Henry D. Newest England: Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand, with some Australian Comparisons. Doubleday, Page & Co. $2.50.
Mallock, W. H. Lucretius on Life and Death. John Lane. $1.50.
Marburg, T. Expansion. John Murphy Co. 15 cents.
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Morgan, Carrie Blake. The Path of Gold. New Whatcom (Wash.): Edson & Irish. 50 cents.
Otis, James. With Preble at Tripoli. Boston: W. A. Wilde & Co. $1.50.
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Peddicord, W. J. Rudyard Reviewed. Portland (Ore.): W. J. Peddicord. $1.
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Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South. Report of the First Annual Conference. Richmond: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co. $1.
Spurr, Josiah Edward. Through the Yukon Gold Diggings. Boston: Eastern Publishing Co. $1.25.
Stedman, E. C. An American Anthology. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $3.
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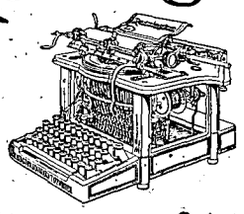
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